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BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIRS

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LATE PRESIDENT

OF THE

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CONTAINING

A History of the Principal Events of his Life, with Extracts from his Journals, Speeches to Congress, and Public Addresses.

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A SKETCH OF HIS PRIVATE LIFE.

FOURTH EDITION.

BRATTLEBOROUGH:

PRINTED BY WILLIAM FESSENDEN.

1811.

inroads they were making, in direct violation of the treaties then subsisting between the two crowns. This mission he performed with singular industry, intelligence and address.

The appointment of major Washington was deemed a circumstance somewhat extraordinary at that period; it was said that a youth unacquainted with the enlarged commerce of the world, unexperienced in political concerns, appeared to be unfit to be employed to conduct a negotiation, wherein subjects of the greatest importance were involved: It was very true that the subjects were important, for they shortly after became the origin of a war between the two nations, which raged for many years, and extended throughout every part of the globe, and which ended in the final expulsion of the French from the continent.

But those who had formed such superficial notions of the major, were, in the end, deceived by the success and abilities manifested through the whole transaction. This having been the first effort of that career which has terminated with so much splendour in history, and honour and happiness to himself and his country. It will be pleasing to peruse his journal, given in as a report of his proceedings to governor Dinwiddie of Virginia, on that occasion; it is highly illustrative of that activity and penetration which have signalised his character on a more extensive theatre, at a subsequent period.

Major George Washington's Journal,

Sent by the Hon. Robert Dinwiddie, Esq.; his Majesty's Lieutenant-Governor, and Commander in Chief of Virginia, to the Commandant of the French forces on the Ohio.

WEDNESDAY, *October* 31, 1753.

I was commissioned and appointed by the Hon. Robert Dinwiddie, Esq. governor, &c. of Virginia, to visit and deliver a letter to the Commandant of the French forces on the Ohio, and set out on the intended journey the same day; The next, I arrived at Fredericksburgh, and engaged Mr. Jacob Vanbram to be my French interpreter; and proceeded with him to Alexandria, where we provided necessaries. From thence we went to Winchester, and got baggage, horses, &c. and from thence we pursued the new road to Wills Creek, where we arrived the 14th of November.

Here I engaged Mr. Gist to pilot us out, and also hired four others as servitors. Barnaby Currin and John Mac Quire, Indian traders, Henry Steward and William Jenkins; and, in company with those persons, left the inhabitants the next day.

The excessive rains and vast quantity of snow which had fallen, prevented our reaching Mr. Frazier's, an Indian trader at the mouth of Turtle Creek, on Monongahela river, till Thursday the 22d. We were informed here, that expresses had been sent a few days before to the traders down the river, to acquaint them with the French gen-

eral's death, and the return of the major part of the French army into winter quarters. The waters were quite impassable, without swimming our horses; which obliged us to get the loan of a canoe from Frazier, and to send Barnaby Currin, and Henry Stewart, down the Monongahela, with our baggage, to meet us at the forks of the Ohio, about ten miles, there to cross the Aligany.*

As I got down before the canoe, I spent some time in viewing the rivers, and the land in the Fork, which I think extremely well situated for a fort, as it has the absolute command of both rivers. The land at the point is 20 or 25 feet above the common surface of the water; and a considerable bottom of flat well-timbered land all around it, very convenient for building: The rivers are each a quarter of a mile, or more, across, and run here very near at right angles, Aligany bearing N. E. and Monongahela S. E. The former of these two is a very rapid and swift running water; the other deep and still, without any perceptible fall.

About two miles from this, on the South East side of the river, at the place where the Ohio company intended to erect a fort, lives Shingiss, king of the Delawares: We called upon him to invite him to council at the Loggs Town.

As I had taken a good deal of notice yesterday of the situation at the Forks, my curiosity led me to examine this more particularly, and I think it

* The Ohio and Alligany are the same rivers.

greatly inferior, either for defence or advantages, especially the latter: For, a fort at the Forks would be equally well situated on the Ohio, and have the entire command of the Monongahela; which runs up to our settlements, and is extremely well designed for water carriage, as it is of a deep, still nature. Besides, a fort at the Fork might be built at much less expense than at the other place.

Nature has well contrived this lower place for water defence; but the hill whereon it must stand, being about a quarter of a mile in length, and then descending gradually on the land side, will render it difficult and very expensive, to make a sufficient fortification there. The whole flat upon the hill must be taken in, the side next the descent made extremely high, or else the hill itself cut away: Otherwise, the enemy may raise batteries within that distance without being exposed to a single shot from the fort.

Shingiss attended us to the Loggs-town, where we arrrived between sun setting and dark, the 25th day after I left Williamsburgh. We travelled over some extreme good and bad land, to get to this place.

As soon as I came into town, I went to Monakatoocha (as the half-king was out at his hunting cabin on little Beaver-Creek, about 15 miles off) and informed him by John Davison, my Indian interpreter, that I was sent a messenger to the French general; and was ordered to call upon the Sachems of the Six-Nations, to acquaint them with

it. I gave him a string of wampum,* and a twist of tobacco, and desired him to send for the half-king; which he promised to do by a runner in the morning, and for other Sachems. I invited him and the other great men present, to my tent, where they stayed about an hour and then returned.

According to the best observations I could make, Mr. Giff's new settlement (which we passed by) bears about W. N. W. 70 miles from Wills-Creek, Shanapins, or the Forks N. by W. or N. N. W. about 50 miles from that: and from thence to Loggs-town, the course is nearly west about 18 or 20 miles: So that the whole distance, as we went and computed it, at least 135 or 140 miles from our back inhabitants.

25th. Came to town 9 or 10 Frenchmen who had deserted from a company at the Kuskaskas, which lies at the mouth of this river. I got the following account from them. They were sent from New-Orleans with 100 men, and 8 canoe loads of provisions to this place; where they expected to have met the same number of men, from the forts on this side of Lake Erie, to convey them and the stores up, who were not arrived when they run off.

I enquired into the situation of the French, on the Mississippi, their number, and what forts they had built. They informed me, that there were

* A kind of Indian Money; also given as a present or mark of friendship.

four small forts between New-Orleans and the Black Islands, garrisoned with about 30 or 40 men, and a few small pieces in each: That at New-Orleans, which is near the mouth of the Mississippi, there are 35 companies of 40 men each, with a pretty strong fort mounting 8 carriage guns; and at the Black Islands there are several companies and a fort with 6 guns. The Black Islands are about 130 leagues above the mouth of the Ohio, which is about 350 above New-Orleans. They also acquainted me, that there was a small pallisadoed fort on the Ohio, at the mouth of the Obaish, about 60 leagues from the Mississippi. The Obaish* heads near the west end of Lake Erie, and affords the communication between the French on the Mississippi and those on the Lakes. These deserters came up from the lower Shannoah-town with one Brown, an Indian Trader, and were going to Philadelphia.

About 3 o'clock this evening the half king came to town. I went up and invited him with Davidson, privately, to my tent; and desired him to relate some of the particulars of his journey to the French commandant, and reception there; also to give me an account of the ways and distance. He told me that the nearest and levellest way was now impassable, by reason of many large miry savannas; that we must be obliged to go by Venango, and should not get to the near fort un-

* Or Wabash, written by the French, Ouabach.

der five or six nights sleep, and good travelling. When he went to the fort, he said he was received in a very stern manner by the late commander; who asked him very abruptly, what he had came about, and to declare his business: which he said he did in the following speech.—

"Fathers, I am come to tell you your own speeches; what your own mouths have declared. Fathers, you, in former days, set a silver bason before us, wherein there was a leg of a beaver, and desired all the nations to come and eat of it; to eat in peace and plenty, and not be churlish to one another: And that if any such person should be found to be a disturber, I here lay down by the edge of the dish a rod, which you must scourge them with; and if I, your father, should get foolish in my old days, I desire you may use it upon me as well as others.

"Now, fathers, it is you who are the disturbers in this land, by coming and building your towns; and taking it away unknown to us, and by force.

"Fathers, we kindled a fire a long time ago, at a place called Montreal, where we desired you to stay, and not to come and intrude upon our land. I now desire that you may dispatch to that place; for be it known to you, fathers, that this is our land, and not yours.

"Fathers, I desire you may hear me in civilness; if not, we must handle that rod which was laid down for the use of the obstreperous. If you had come in a peaceable manner, like our brothers the

English, we should not have been against your trading with us, as they do; *But, to come, Fathers, and build houses upon our land, and to take it by force, is what we cannot submit to.*

"Fathers, both you and the English are white, we live in a country between; therefore, the land belongs to neither one nor the other: But the great Being above allowed it to be a place of residence for us; so fathers I desire you to withdraw, as I have done our brothers the English: For I will keep you at arm's length. I lay this down as a trial for both, to see which will have the greatest regard to it, and that side we will stand by, and make equal shares with us. Our brothers the English have heard this, and I come now to tell it to you; for I am not afraid to discharge you off this land."

This he said was the substance of what he spoke to the general, who made this reply:

"Now, my child, I have heard your speech: You spoke first, but it is my time to speak now. Where is my wampum that you took away, with the marks of towns in it? This wampum I do not know, which you have discharged me off the land with: But you need not put yourself to the trouble of speaking, for I will not hear you. I am not afraid of flies, or musquetoes, for Indians are such as those. I tell you, down that river I will go, and build upon it, according to my command. If the river was blocked up, I have forces sufficient to burst it open, and tread under my feet all that

stand in opposition, together with their alliances; for my force is as the sand upon the sea-shore: Therefore, here is your wampum, I fling it at you. Child you talk foolish; you say this land belongs to you, but there is not the black of my nail yours. I saw that land sooner than you did, before the Shannoahs and you were at war: Lead was the man who went down and took possession of that river; It is my land, and I will have it, let who will stand up for or say against it. I will buy and sell with the English (mockingly.) If people will be ruled by me, they may expect kindness, but not else."

The half king told me he had enquired of the general after two Englishmen who were made prisoners, and received this answer:

"Child, you think it a very great hardship that I made prisoners of those two people at Venango. Do not concern yourself with it; We took and carried them to Canada, to get intelligence of what the English were doing in Virginia."

He informed me that they had built two forts, one on Lake, Erie, and another on French Creek, near a small lake about fifteen miles asunder, and a large waggon-road between: They are both after the same model, but different in size; that on the lake the largest. He gave me a plan of them, of his own drawing.

The Indians enquired very particular after their brothers in Carolina gaol.

They also asked what sort of a boy it was who

was taken from the South Branch; for they were told by some Indians, that a party of French Indians had carried a white boy by Kaskaska Town, towards the lake.

November 26, 1753, we met in council, at the Long House, at about 9 o'clock, where I spoke to them as follows :—

" Brothers, I have called you together in council, by order of your brother, the governor of Virginia, to acquaint you, that I am sent, with all possible dispatch, to visit, and deliver a letter to the French commandant, of very great importance to your brothers the English; and I dare say to you, their friends and allies.

" I was desired, brothers, by your brother, the governor, to call upon you, the sachems of the nations, to inform you of it, and to ask your advice and assistance to proceed the nearest and best road to the French. You see, brothers, I have gotten thus far on my journey.

" His honour likewise desired me to apply to you for some of your young men, to conduct and provide provisions for us on our way; and be a safeguard against those *French Indians* who have taken up the hatchet against us. I have spoke this particularly to you, brothers, because his honour, our governor, treats you as good friends and allies; and holds you in great esteem. To confirm what I have said, I give this string of wampum."

After they had considered for some time on the above discourse, the half king got up and spoke :—.

"Now my brother, in regard to what my brother the governor had desired me, I return you this answer.

"I rely upon you as a brother ought to do, as you say we are brothers and one people. We shall put heart in hand, and speak to our fathers the French concerning the speech they made to me; and you may depend that we will endeavour to be your guard.

"Brother, as you have asked my advice, I hope you will be ruled by it, and stay till I can provide a company to go with you. The *French* speech belt is not here. I have it to go for to my hunting cabin: likewise the people whom I have ordered in are not yet come, nor cannot till the third night from this; till which time, brother, I must beg you to stay.

"I intend to send the guard of *Mingos*, *Shannoahs*, *and Delawares*, that our brothers may see the love and loyalty we bear them."

As I had orders to make all possible dispatch, and waiting here was very contrary to my inclination, I thanked him in the most suitable manner I could; and told him that my business required the greatest expedition, and would not admit of delay. He was not well pleased that I should offer to go before the time he had appointed, and told me that he could not consent to our going without a guard, for fear some accident should befall us, and draw a reflection upon him. Besides, says he, this is a matter of no small moment, and must not be entered into without due consideration: for now I intend

to deliver up the French speech belt, and make the Shannoahs and Delawares do the same. And accordingly he gave orders to the king Shingiss, who was present, to attend on Wednesday night with the wampum, and two men of their nation to be in readiness to set out with us the next morning. As I found it impossible to get off without affronting them in the most egregious manner, I consented to stay.

I gave them back a string of wampum, which I met with at Mr. Frazier's, and which they sent with a speech to his honour the governour, to inform him, that three nations of French Indians, viz. Chippoways, Ottoways, and Orundaks, had taken up the hatchet against the English; and desired them to repeat it over again: but this they postponed doing till they met in full council with the Shannoah and Delaware chiefs.

27th. Runners were dispatched very early for the Shannoah chiefs. The half king set out himself to fetch the French speech belt from his hunting cabin.

28th. He returned this evening, and came with Monokatoocha, and two other Sachems to my tent; and begged (as they had complied with his honour the governor's request, in providing men, &c.) to know on what business we were going to the French? This was a question I all along expected, and had provided as satisfactory answers to, as I could, which allayed their curiosity a little.

their council house, to consult further about this journey, and who were to go: the result of which was, that only three of their chiefs, with one of their best hunters, should be our convoy. The reason they gave for not sending more, after what had been proposed at council the 26th, was that a greater number mights give the French suspicions of some bad design, and cause them to be treated rudely: but I rather think they could not get their hunters in.

We set out about 9 o'clock with the half king Jeskakake, White Thunder, and the Hunter; and travelled on the road to Venango, where we arrived the 4th of December, without any thing remarkable happening, but a continued series of bad weather.

This is an old Indian town, situated at the mouth of French-Creek on Ohio; and lies near N. about sixty miles from the Loggs-town, but more than seventy the way we were obliged to go.

We found the French colours hoisted at a house from which we had driven Mr. John Frazier, an English subject. I immediately repaired to it, to know where the commander resided. There were three officers, one of whom, captain Joncaire, informed me that he had the command of the Ohio: but that there was a general-officer at the near fort, where he advised me to apply for an answer. He invited us to sup with them; and treated us with the greatest complaisance.

The wine, as they dozed themselves pretty plentifully with it, soon banished the restraint which

at first appeared in their conversation; and gave a license to their tongues to reveal their sentiments more freely.

They told me, that it was their absolute design to take possession of the Ohio, and by G** they would do it; for that although they were sensible the English could raise two men for their one; yet they knew, their motions were too slow and dilatory to prevent any undertaking of theirs. They pretend to have an undoubted right to the river from a discovery made by one La Solle, sixty years ago; and the rise of this expedition is, to prevent our settling on the river or waters of it, as they had heard of some families moving out in order thereto. From the best intelligence I could get, there have been 1500 men on this side Ontario Lake; but upon the death of the general, all were recalled to about six or seven hundred, who were left to garrison four forts, one hundred and fifty or thereabouts in each. The first of them is on French-Creek, near a small Lake, about sixty miles from Venango, near N. N. W. The next lies on Lake-Erie, where the greater part of their stores are kept, about fifteen miles from the other. From this it is one hundred and twenty miles to the carrying place, at the falls of Lake Erie, where there is a small fort; which they lodge their goods at, in bringing them from Montreal, the place whence all their stores come from. The next fort lies about twenty miles from this, on Ontario-Lake. Between this fort and Montreal there are three others, the first of which is nearly opposite to the

over to day to fetch them; which he did with great persuasion.

At twelve o'clock we set out for the fort, and were prevented from arriving there till the 11th, by excessive rains, snows, and bad travelling, through many mires and swamps. These we were obliged to pass, to avoid crossing the creek, which was impossible either by fording or rafting, the water was so high and rapid.

We passed over much good land since we left Venango, and through several extensive and very rich meadows; one of which, I believe, was near four miles in length, and considerably wide in some places.

12th. I prepared early to wait upon the commander, and was received and conducted to him by the second officer in command. I acquainted him with my business, and offered my commission and letter: both of which he desired me to keep till the arrival of Mons. Raparti, captain, at the next fort, who was sent for, and expected every hour.

This commander is a knight of the military order of St. Lewis, and named Legardeur de St. Pierre. He is an elderly gentleman, and has much the air of a soldier. He was sent over to take the command, immediately upon the death of the late general, and arrived here but about seven days before me.

At two o'clock the gentleman who was sent for arrived, when I offered the letter, &c. again; which they received, adjourned into a private a-

partment for the captain to translate, who understood a little English. After he had done it, the commander desired I would walk in, and bring my interpreter to peruse and correct it; which I did.

13th. The chief officers retired, to hold a council of war; which gave me an opportunity of taking the dimensions of the fort, and making what observations I could.

It is situated on the south, or west fork of French creek, near the water; and is almost surrounded by the creek, and a small branch of it which forms a kind of island. Four houses compose the sides. The bastions are made of piles driven into the ground, standing more than twelve feet above it, and sharp at the top; with port holes cut for cannon, and loop holes for the small arms to fire through. There are eight 6 lb. pieces mounted in each bastion; and one piece of four pounds before the gate. In the bastions are a guard-house, chapel, doctor's lodging, and the commander's private store; round which are laid platforms for the cannon and men to stand on. There are several barracks without the fort for the soldiers' dwelling; covered, some with bark, and some with boards, made chiefly of logs. There are also several other houses, such as stables, smith's shop, &c.

I could get no certain account of the number of men here; but according to the best judgment I could form, there are an hundred exclusive of officers, of which there are many. I also gave orders to the people who were with me, to take

an exact account of the canoes which were hauled up to convey their forces down in the spring. This they did, and old fifty of birch bark, and one hundred and seventy of pine; besides many others which were blocked out, in readiness to make.

14th. As the snow encreased very fast, and our horses daily became weaker, I sent them off unloaded, under the care of Barnaby Currin, and two others, to make all convenient dispatch to Venango, and there to wait our arrival, if there was a prospect of the river's freezing; if not, then to continue down to Shannapin's town, at the forks of the Ohio, and there to wait till we came to cross Aligany; intending myself to go down by water, as I had the offer of a canoe or two.

As I found many plots concerted to retard the Indians' business, and prevent their returning with me; I endeavoured all that lay in my power to frustrate their schemes and hurry them on to execute their intended design. They accordingly pressed for admittance this evening, which at length was granted them, privately, with the commander and one or two other officers. The half-king told me, that he offered wampum to the commander, who evaded taking it, and made many fair promises of love and friendship; said he wanted to live in peace, and trade amicably with them, as a proof of which he would send some goods immediately down to the Loggs town, for them. But I rather think the design of that is

to bring away all our straggling traders they meet with, as I privately understood they intended to carry an officer, &c. with them. And what rather confirms this opinion, I was enquired of the commander, by what authority he had made prisoners of several of our English subjects. He told me that the country, belonging to them, no Englishman had a right to trade upon those waters; and that he had orders to make every one prisoner who attempted it on the Ohio, or the waters of it.

I enquired of captain Riparti about the boy who was carried by this place, as it was done while the command devolved upon him between the death of the late general and the arrival of the present. He acknowledged that a boy had been carried past; and that the Indians had two or three white men's scalps, (I was told by some of the Indians at Venango eight) but pretended to have forgotten the name of the place which the boy came from, and all the particular facts, though he had questioned him for some hours, as they were carrying him past. I likewise enquired what they had done with John Trotter and James Mac Clocklin, two Pennsylvania traders, whom they had taken, with all their goods. They told me they had been sent to Canada, but were now returned home.

This evening I received an answer to his honor the governor's letter, from the commandant.

15th. The commandant ordered a plentiful store of liquor, provision, &c. to be put on board

our canoe; and appeared to be extremely complaisant, though he was exerting every artifice which he could invent to set our own Indians at variance with us, to prevent their going until after our departure. Presents, rewards, and every thing which could be suggested by him or his officers. I cannot say that ever in my life I suffered so much anxiety as I did in this affair: I saw that every stratagem which the most fruitful brain could invent, was practised, to win the half-king to their interest; and that leaving him here was giving them the opportunity they aimed at. I went to the half-king and pressed him in the strongest terms to go: he told me the commandant would not discharge him till the morning. I then went to the commandant, and desired him to do their business; and complained of ill treatment: For keeping them, as they were part of my company, was detaining me. This he promised not to do, but to forward my journey as much as he could. He protested he did not keep them, but was ignorant of the cause of their stay; though I soon found it out—He had promised them a present of guns, &c. if they would wait till the morning. As I was very much pressed by the Indians to wait this day for them, I consented, on a promise that nothing should hinder them in the morning.

16th. The French were not slack in their inventions to keep the Indians this day also; But as they were obligated, according to promise, to give the present, they then endeavoured to try the power of liquor; which I doubt not would have

prevailed at any other time than this: but I urged and insisted with the king so closely upon his word, that he refrained, and set off with us as he had engaged.

We had a tedious and very fatiguing passage down the creek. Several times we had like to have been staved against the rocks; and many times were obliged all hands to get out and remain in the water half an hour or more, getting over the shoals. At one place the ice had lodged and made it impassable by water; therefore we were obliged to carry our canoe across a neck of land, a quarter of mile over. We did not reach Venango till the 22d, where we met with our horses.

This creek is extremely crooked. I dare say the distance between the fort and Venango cannot be less than 130 miles to follow the meanders.

23d. When I got things ready to set off, I sent for the half-king, to know whether he intended to go with us, or by water. He told me that White Thunder had hurt himself much, and was sick and unable to walk; therefore he was obliged to carry him down in a canoe. As I found he intended to stay here a day or two, and knew that Monsieur Joncaire would employ every scheme to set him against the English as he had before done. I told him I hoped he would be guarded against his flattery, and let no fine speeches influence him in their favour. He desired I might not be concerned, for he knew the French too well, for any

thing to engage him in their behalf; and though he could not go down with us, he yet would endeavour to meet at the forks with Joseph Campbell, to deliver a speech for me to carry to his honnor the Governor. He told me he would order the young hunter to attend us, and get provision, &c. if wanted.

Our horses were now so weak and feeble, and the baggage so heavy (as we were obliged to provide all the necessaries which the journey would require) that we doubted much their performing it: Therefore myself and others (except the drivers who were obliged to ride) gave up our horses for packs, to assist along with the baggage. I put myself in an Indian walking dress, and continued with them three days, till I found there was no probability of their getting home in any reasonable time. The horses grew less able to travel every day; the cold encreased very fast; and the roads were becoming much worse by a deep snow, continually freezing; Therefore, as I was uneasy to get back, to make report of my proceedings to his honour the governor, I determined to prosecute my journey the nearest way through the woods, on foot.

Accordingly I left Mr. Vanbram in charge of our baggage; with money and directions to provide necessaries from place to place for themselves and horses, and to make the most convenient dispatch in travelling.

I took my necessary papers; pulled off my clothes; and tied myself up in a match coat.—

Then with gun in hand, and pack at my back, in which were my papers, and provisions, I set out with Mr. Gist, fitted in the same manner, on Wednesday the 26th. The day following, just after we had passed a place called the Murdering Town, (where we intended to quit the path, and steer across the country for Shannapins Town) we fell in with a party of French Indians, who had laid in wait for us. One of them fired at Mr. Gist or me, not 15 steps off, but fortunately missed. We took this fellow into custody, and kept him until about 9 o'clock at night: Then let him go, and walked all the remainder of the night without making any stop; that we might get the start so far, as to be out of the reach of their pursuit next day, since we were well assured they would follow our track as soon as it was light. The next day we continued travelling till quite dark, and got to the river about 2 miles above Shannapins. We expected to have found the river frozen, but it was not, only about 50 yards from each shore: The ice I suppose had broken above, for it was driving in vast quantities.

There was no way for getting over but on a raft; which we set about, but with one poor hatchet, and finished just after sun setting. This was a whole day's work; We next got it launched, and went on board of it; Then set off. But before we were half way over, we were jammed in the ice, in such a manner that we expected every moment our raft to sink, and ourselves to perish. I put out my setting pole to stop the raft, that the

ce might pass by; when the rapidity of the stream threw it with so much violence against the pole, that it jirked me out into ten feet water: But I fortunately saved myself by catching hold of one of the raft logs. Notwithstanding all our efforts, we could not get to either shore; but were obliged, as we were near an island, to quit our raft and make to it.

The cold was so extremely severe, that Mr. Gist had all his fingers, and some of his toes frozen; and the water shut up so hard, that we found no difficulty in getting off the island, on the ice, in the morning: and went to Mr. Frazier's. We met here with twenty warriors who were going to the southward to war: But coming to a place upon the head of the great Kunnaway, where they found seven people killed and scalped (all but one woman with very light hair) they turned about and ran back for fear the inhabitants should rise and take them as the authors of the murder. They report that the bodies were lying about the house and some of them much torn and eaten by the hogs; By the marks which were left, they say they were French Indians of the Ottoway nation, &c. who did it.

As we intended to take horses here, and it required some time to find them, I went up about three miles to the mouth of the Yaughyaughgane to visit Queen Alliquippa, who had expressed great concern that we passed her in going to the fort. I made her a present of a match coat and a bottle

of rum, which latter was thought much the best present of the two.

Tuesday the 1st day of January, we left Mr. Frazier's house, and arrived at Mr. Gist's at Monongahela the 2d, where I bought a horse, saddle, &c. The 6th we met 17 horses loaded with materials and stores for a fort at the forks of Ohio, and the day after some families going out to settle: This day we arrived at Wills-Creek, after a fatiguing a journey as it is possibly to conceive, rendered so by exeessive bad weather. From the first day of December to the 15th, there was but one day in which it did not rain or snow incessantly; and throughout the whole journey we met with nothing but one continued series of cold wet weather, which occasioned very uncomfortable lodgings; especially after we had quitted our tent, which was some screen from the inclemency of it.

On the 11th I got to Belvoir; where I stopped one day to take necessary rest; and then set out, and arrived in Williamsburgh the 16th; when I waited on his honour the governor with the letter I had brought from the French commandant; and to give an account of the success of my proceedings. This I beg leave to do by offering the foregoing narrative, as it contains the most remarkable occurrences which happened in my journey.

I hope what has been said will be sufficient to make your honour satisfied with my conduct; for that was my aim in undertaking the journey, and chief study throughout the prosecution of it.

With the hope of doing it, I, with infinite pleasure, subscribe myself,

Your honor's most obedient,
and very humble servant,
G. WASHINGTON.

On his return from this perilous embassy, with Mons. de St. Pierre's answer, and his good success in the Indian negociations, major Washington was complimented with the thanks and approbation of his country. His journal does great credit to his industry, attention, and judgment; and it has since proved of infinite service to those who have been doomed to traverse the same inhospitable tracts.

Governor Dinwiddie's letter to the French commandant, and M. de St. Pierre's answer have been published in several periodical works, both in America and in Britain. The governor's letter stated, that he had heard with surprise and concern, that the French were erecting fortresses and making settlements on the lands upon the river Ohio, which are the property of the crown of Great-Britain; in consequence of which, he is induced in the name of the king, to send the bearer, G. Washington, Esq.; one of the adjutants general of the forces of Virginia, to complain of the encroachments made in violation of the treaties subsisting between the two crowns, requesting by whose authority he had marched from Canada with an armed force to invade the British territories, and that the French forces depart peaceably,

without prosecuting a purpose so interruptive to the harmony which his majesty is so desirous to continue and cultivate with the most Christian King. Also, that major Washington might be entertained with the politeness due to his rank. The French commandants answer only stated, that he would transmit the governor's letter to Canada, to his general the marquis du Quesne, by whose answer he would be guided; that he was upon French ground, by the orders of his general, consequently that he could not obey the summons of the governor; and that he had made it his particular care to receive Mr. Washington with the distinction suitable to his dignity.

In 1754, the designs of the French becoming more manifest, and their movements more daring, orders were issued by adminstration for the colonies to arm and unite in one confederacy. The assembly of Virginia took the lead, by voting a sum of money for the public service, and raising a regiment for the protection of the frontiers of the colony. Of this corps, Mr. Fry, one of the professors of the college, was appointed colonel, and major Washington received the commission of lieutenant-colonel. But colonel Fry died without ever having joined; and of course left his regiment to the second in command. He begun his march on the second of April, from Alexandria, having under his command one hundred and fifty men. His orders were to march towards the Ohio, there to assist captain Trent to built forts, and defend the possesions of his majesty against the attempts

and hostilities of the French. During his march he was joined by a small detachment under command of captain Stephens, and when he had proceeded as far as Wills-Creek, he received intelligence that captain Trent had been obliged to surrender the fort which he had erected between the Ohio and French-Creek, to a body of about eight hundred French, commanded by captain Contrecoeur; whereupon, colonel Washington, deeming it impracticable to march towards the fort without sufficient force, thought it most prudent to proceed to open roads so as to pre-occupy the advantageous post at the confluence of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers, which in his preceding journal he recommends for that purpose. He was to have been joined by a detachment of independent regulars from the southern colonies, together with some companies of provincials from North Carolina and Maryland. But perceiving the necessity of expedition, and without waiting for their arrival, he commenced his march; but, notwithstanding his precipitated advance, the French had already taken possession and erected a fortification, which they named fort *Du Quesne*, in honour of the marquis du Quesne, the French governor of Canada.

Colonel Washington accordingly proceeded on his march from Wills-Creek; bravely encountering all the obstacles and difficulties of an impervious wilderness, crossing mires, savannas and rivers. His men were sometimes forced to ford rivers so deep as to take them up to the arm-pits; when he

had proceeded as far as Turkeyfoot, he received information that a party of French, commanded by M. de Jumonville, were concealed within a short distance of his camp: whereupon, he secured his waggons and put himself in the best means of defence he was capable of, until he had learned the strength of the enemy, and the place where they were.

Having received from the Indians the necessary information, on the night of the 27th May, he set out with his men (except about forty, which was left to guard his ammunition, &c.) and a party of Indians, which the half-king sent to his assistance, under a heavy rain, and a night dark as pitch, they travelled along a path scarcely broad enough for one man; they were sometimes fifteen or twenty minutes out of the path before they could come to it again, and so dark, that they would often strike one against another; all night they continued their route, and in the morning about sun-rise, formed themselves for an engagement, marching one after another in the Indian manner, the enemy did not discover them until they were close upon them, when colonel Washington's company fired, and was supported by Mr. Wager's; these two companies received the whole fire of the French, which lasted a quarter of an hour before the enemy was routed out. M. de Jumonville and nine others were killed, one wounded and twenty-one made prisoners. Among the prisoners was the celebrated woodsman, Mons. de la Force, commis-

sary of the French stores, and two other officers. Only one of the whole party escaped. A Canadian, named Monceau, made such a report of the action as to impress upon the minds of the French, a belief, that Colonel Washington's conduct was highly treacherous and dishonourable. The French account of this engagement is contained in a letter from M. de Contrecœur to the marquis du Quesne, dated Fort du Quesne, May 23, 1754. It states that M. de Jumonville set out with a small escort, charged with a written summons, in form of a letter, directed to the first English officer he should meet on the lands claimed by the French king, summoning him to withdraw his troops in peace from said territory, otherwise that they would repel force to force, desiring the English officer to return his answer by M. de Jumonville, and to treat that officer with that distinction and respect which he deserved, that the deputy set out, and next morning found himself surrounded by a number of English and Indians, that the English quickly fired two vollies, which killed some soldiers, that M. Jumonville made a sign that he had a letter from his commander, whereupon the fire ceased, and the English surrounded the French officer, in order to hear it, that he was reading the summons a second time, he was killed by a musket shot in the head, that had it not been for the Indians, who rushed in between the French and English, the former would have been all assassinated, and that the Indians did not fire upon the French. This report

was made the most of by the French, who impressed it upon the minds of the surrounding Indians, as a most shocking and base murder perpetrated by the express command of Colonel Washington. But the following extract from Colonel Washington's Journal of his proceedings given in to Governor Dinwiddie, places the transactions in a quite different point of view, he states, viz. "We were advanced pretty near to them as we thought, when they discovered us; whereupon I ordered my company to fire, mine was supported by Mr. Wager's, and my company and his, received the whole fire of the French, during the greatest part of the action, which only lasted a quarter of an hour, before the enemy was routed.

"We killed M. de Jumonville, the commander of that party, as also nine others; we wounded one, and made twenty-one prisoners, among whom were M. de la Force, M. Drouillon, and two Cadets. The Indians scalped the dead, and took away most part of their fire arms, after which we marched on with the prisoners and guard, to the Indian camp, where again I held a council with the half-king; and there informed him that, the governor was desirous to see him, and was waiting for him at Winchester; he answered, that, he could not go just then, as his people were in too eminent danger from the French, whom they had fallen upon; that he must send messengers to all the allied nations, in order to invite them to take up the hatchet. He sent a young Delaware In-

dian to the Delaware Nation, and gave him also a French scalp to carry to them. This young man desired to have a part of the presents which were allotted for them, but that the remaining part might be kept for another opportunity : He said he would go to his own family, and to several others, and would wait on them at Mr, Gist's, where he desired men and horses should be sent ready to bring them up to our camp. After this I marched on with the prisoners : They informed me that they had been sent with a summons to order me to depart. A plausible pretence to discover our camp, and to obtain the knowlege of our forces and situation ! It was so clear that they were come to reconnoitre what we were, that I admired their assurance, when they told me they were come as an Embassy ; for their instructions mentioned that they should get what knowledge they could of the roads' rivers, and of all the country as far as Potomack : And instead of coming as an ambassador, publicly, and in an open manner, they came secretly. and sought after the most hidden re reats, more like deserters than ambassadors ; in such retreats they encamped, and remained hid whole days together, and that, no more than five miles from us ; from thence they sent spies to reconnoitre our camp ; after this was done, they went back two miles, from whence they sent the two messengers spoken of in the instruction, to acquaint M. de Contrecœur of the place we were at, and of our disposition, that he might send his detachments

to inforce the summons, as soon as it should be given.

"Besides, an ambassador has princely attendants; whereas this was only a simple petty French officer; an ambassador has no need of spies, his character being always sacred: And seeing their intentions was so good, why did they tarry two days, at five miles distance from us, without acquainting me with the summons, or, at least, with something that related to the embassy? That alone would be sufficient to raise the greatest suspicions, we ought to do them the justice to say, that, as they wanted to hide themselves, they could not pick out better places than they had done.

"The summons was so insolent, and favoured the gasconade so much, that if it had been brought openly by two men, it would have been an immediate indulgence, to have suffered them to return.

"It was the opinion of the half-king in this case, that their intentions were evil, and that it was a pure pretence; that they never intended to come to us but as enemies; and if we had been such fools as to let them go, they would never help us any more to take other Frenchmen.

"They say they called to us as soon as they had discovered us, which is an absolute falsehood; for, I was then marching at the head of the company going towards them, and can positively affirm, that when they first saw us, they ran to

their arms, without calling; as I must have heard them, had they so done."

From the French prisoners, colonel Washington had intelligence, that the French forces on the Ohio consisted of upwards of one thousand regulars, and some hundreds of Indians. Upon this intelligence, and considering his little army which was somewhat reduced, and entirely insufficient to act offensive against the French and Indians, he fell back to a place known by the appellation of the *Great Meadows*, for the sake of forage and supplies. Here he built a temporary stockade, merely to cover his stores; it was from its fate called *Fort Necessity*. Colonel Washington was too sensible of the advantages of Fort du Quesne, to abandon the idea of taking it. Ever since he left Wills Creek, he had been indefatigable in his exertions to form the regiment, open roads, and gain the Indians over to the side of the English, as also to watch the operations of the French, and gain a knowledge of the forts, situation, and force, even as far as the lakes. He had wrote to the governors of Pennsylvania and Maryland, requesting their aid in the augmentation of his army. He remained at Fort Necessity for the arrival of some expected succour from New-York and Pennsylvania, unmolested, until July following, when his small force, even after it was joined by captain M'Kay's regulars did not amount to four hundred effectives, was attacked by an army of French and Indians, computed to have been sixteen hundred strong, under the command of the

sieur de Villiers, the brother of M. de Jumonville. The chief intention of this campaign, the French officer acknowledged, was to revenge the assassination of his brother, and to hinder any establishments on the lands claimed by the king of France.

The Virginians sustained the attack of the enemy's whole force for several hours, and laid near two hundred of them dead in the field, when the French commander, discouraged by such determined resolution, proposed the less dangerous method of dislodging his enemy by a parly, which ended in a capitulation. It was stipulated, that colonel Washington should march away with all the honours of war, and be allowed to carry off all his military stores, effects and baggage. This capitulation was violated from the ungovernable disposition of the Indians, whom the French commander could not restrain from plundering the provincials on the outset of their march, and from making a considerable slaughter of men, cattle and horses. After this disaster the remains of the Virginia regiment returned to Alexandria to be recruited and furnished with necessary supplies: during this period, the French redoubled their activity and diligence on the Ohio, and in other places, and Virginia who determined to send out a larger force, in the spring following, erected the forts Cumberland and London, and formed a camp at Wills-creek, in order to annoy the enemy on the Ohio. In these several services (particularly in the construction of forts) colonel Washington was principally employed.

In 1755, the British government sent to this country, general Braddock, who was appointed to the command of all the troops and forces which were, or that should be raised in, or sent to North America; he landed at Williamsburg, Virginia, in February, with two veteran regiments from Ireland, but sent his men up the Potomac to Alexandria, there to encamp until he was joined with the independent and provincial corps of America; with this army he was to penetrate through the country to fort Du Quesne (now fort Pitt) by the route of Wills-creek to repel the French from the confines of the British settlements, and as no person was better acquainted with the frontier country than Colonel Washington, and no one in the colony enjoyed so well established a military character, he was judged to be highly serviceable to general Braddock, but from a royal arrangement of rank, by which "no officer who did not immediately derive his commission from the king, could command one who did." Colonel Washington cheerfully relinquished his regiment and went as an extra aid-de-camp into the family of general Braddock. In this capacity, at the battle of Monongahela, on the 9th of July, 1755, he attended that general, whose life was gallantly sacrificed in attempting to extricate his troops from the fatal ambuscade into which his overweaning confidence had conducted them. Braddock had several horses shot under him, before he fell himself; and there was not an officer, whose duty obliged him

to be on horseback that day, excepting colonel Washington, who was not either killed or wounded. This circumstance enabled him to display greater abilities in covering the retreat and saving the wreck of the army, than he could otherwise have done. As soon as he had secured their passage over the ford of Monongahela, and found they were not pursued, he hasted to concert measures for their further security with colonel Dunbar, who had remained with the second division and heavy baggage at some distance in the rear. To effect this he travelled with two guides, all night, through an almost impervious wilderness, notwithstanding the fatigues he had undergone in the day, and although he had so imperfectly recovered from sickness, that he was obliged in the morning to be supported with cushions on his horse. The public accounts in Britain and America were not parsimonious of applause for the essential service he had rendered on so trying an occasion.

Not long after this time, the regulation of rank, which had been so injurious to the colonial officers, was changed to their satisfaction, in consequence of the discontent of the officers, and the remonstrance of colonel Washington. The supreme power of Virginia, impressed with a due sense of his merits, gave him, in a new and extensive commission, the command of all the troops raised and to be raised in that colony.

It would not comport with the intended brevity of this sketch, to mention in detail the plans he

suggested or the system he pursued for defending the frontiers, until the year 1758, when he commanded the van brigade of general Forbe's army in the capture of Fort du Quesne. A similar reason will preclude the recital of the personal hazards and atchievements which happened in the course of his service. The tranquility on the frontiers of the middle colonies having been restored by the success of this campaign, and the health of colonel Washington having become extremely debilitated by an inveterate pulmonary complaint, in 1759 he resigned his military appointment. Authentic documents are not wanting to shew the tender regret which the Virginia line expressed at parting with their commander, and the affectionate regard which he entertained for them.

Shortly after colonel Washington's resignation, his health was gradually re-established and he married Mrs. Custis,* an amiable young widow, said to have possessed a fortune of twenty thousand pounds sterling (about 88,900 dollars) in her own right, besides her dower in one of the principal estates in Virginia. With this lady colonel Washington settled as a planter and farmer on his estate in Fairfax county, Virginia.

After some years he gave up planting tobacco, and went altogether into the farming business. He has raised seven thousand bushels of wheat, and ten thousand of Indian corn in one year. Al-

* General and Mrs. Washington were both born in the same year.

though he has confined his own cultivation to this domestic tract of about nine thousand acres, yet he possessed excellent lands, in large quantities, in several other counties. His judgment in the quality of soils, his command of money to avail himself of purchases, and his occasional employment in early life as a surveyor, gave him opportunities of making advantageous locations; many of which are much improved.

After he left the army, until the year 1774, he thus cultivated the arts of peace. He was constantly a member of assembly, a magistrate of his county and a judge of the court. At this period he was appointed by the assembly of Virginia, in conformity with the universal wish of the people, to be one of their four delegates at the first general Congress of delegates from all the provinces, which met at Philadelphia on the 26th of October, 1774, and consisted of fifty-one members. It was with no small reluctance that he engaged again in the active scenes of life; and we sincerely believe that no motives but such as spring from the most disinterested patriotism, could have prevailed upon him to relinquish the most refined domestic pleasure, which it was ever in his power to command, and the great delight he took in farming and the improvement of his estate.

He was also appointed delegate to the Congress which assembled in 1775, in which it was at length determined, after every step towards an accommodation had failed, and every petition from

America had been rejected, to repel by force the invasion from Great-Britain, the eyes of the whole continent were immediately turned upon Mr. Washington. With one common voice he was called forth to the defence of his country; and it is, perhaps, his peculiar glory, that there was not a single inhabitant of these states, except himself, who did not approve the choice, and place the firmest confidence in his integrity and ablities.

He arrived at Cambridge in New-England, in July, 1775, and there took the supreme command of the army of the United Colonies. Previous to this period, hostilities had actually commenced. On the 19th of April, 1775, blood was first shed at the battle of Concord; and on the 16th of June following, the memorable battle of Breed's-hill, commonly called Bunker's-hill was fought.

General Washington was received at the camp with that heart felt exultation, which superior merit alone can inspire, after having, in his progress through the several states, received every mark of affection and esteem, which they conceived were due to the man, whom the whole continent looked up to for safety and freedom.

The following address was presented to him on his accepting the supreme command of the army, by the provincial Congress of New-York, *viz.*

ADDRESS,

Presented to his excellency General Washington, by the provincial Congress of New-York.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

At a time when the most loyal of his majesty's subjects, from a regard to the laws and constitution, by which he sits on the throne, feel themselves reduced to the unhappy necessity of taking up arms, to defend their dearest rights and privileges—while we deplore the calamities of this divided empire, we rejoice in the appointment of a gentleman, from whose abilities and virtue we are taught to expect both security and peace.

Confiding in you, sir, and in the worthy generals immediately under your command, we have the most flattering hopes of success in the glorious struggle for American liberty, and the fullest assurances, that, whenever this important contest shall be decided, by that fondest wish of each American soul, an accommodation with our mother country, you will cheerfully resign the important deposit committed into your hands, and reassume the character of our worthiest citizen.

By order,

P. V. B. LIVINGSTON,
President.

New-York, June 26, 1775.

General Washington's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

At the same time that with you I deplore the unhappy necessity of such an appointment, as that with which I am honoured, cannot but feel sentiments of the highest gratiude, for this affecting instance of distinction and regard.

May your warmest wishes be realized in the success of America, at this important and interesting period; and be assured that every exertion of my worthy colleagues and myself, will be equally extended to the re-establishment of peace and harmony, between the mother country and these colonies; as to the fatal but necessary operations of war, when we assumed the soldier, we did not lay aside the citizen; and we shall most sincerely rejoice with you in that happy hour, when the establishment of American liberty, on the most firm and solid foundations, shall enable us to return to our private stations, in the bosom of a free, peaceful and happy country.

G. WASHINGTON.

His conduct as a general and commander in chief is well known. He underwent many hardships, dangers and difficulties and conducted his military operation with much skill and ability.

It would not comport with the intended brevity of the present memoirs, for us to particularize all his transactions in the course of the revolutionary

war, the impression which they made, is yet fresh in the mind of every citizen.

But it is hoped, posterity will be taught, in what manner he transformed an undisciplined body of peasantry into a regular army of soldiers. Commentaries on his campaigns would undoubtedly be highly interesting and instructive to future generations. The conduct of his first campaign, in March, 1776, in compelling the British troops to abandon Boston, by a bloodless victory, will merit a minute narration. But a volume would scarcely contain the mortifications he experienced, and the hazards to which he was exposed in the years 1776 and 1777, in contending against the prowess of Britain, with an inadequate force. Her armies were far superior to his in number, well organized and disciplined, inured to a camp life, commanded by officers well experienced in military tacticks, and aided by powerful fleets, while his was composed of raw and undisciplined peasants, "just dragged from the tender scenes of domestic life—unaccustomed to the din of arms—totally unacquainted with every kind of military skill,"—unused to the subordination so essentially requisite in an army, and often in want of arms, ammunition, clothes, and even food, often exposed to the inclemency of the weather, in the most rigorous season, without tents or even a blanket, and discouraged by the want of regular pay. These circumstances fully account for the unsuccessful issue of his first campaigns.

The battle of Long-Island was fought in August 1776; his army was driven from their post by the British; above two thousand Americans fell on the field, and about half that number were taken prisoners. Fort Washington, on York-Island, surrendered soon after, with two thousand prisoners: desertion and sickness added to his misfortunes. His army, at the time Lord Howe landed on Long-Island, amounted to twenty-five thousand men, was now reduced to about one eighth part of that number.

The approach of winter happily checked the progress of the enemy. General Washington's perseverance and intrepidity; improved this circumstance into important advantages. At Trenton, on the morning of the twenty-sixth of December, he surprised a body of the enemy's troops, who, finding themselves surrounded, without further resistance, agreed to lay down their arms.—Twenty-five officers, and nearly one thousand soldiers were made prisoners; while the American army had only four or five men wounded.

On the third of January following, at Princeton, he made another successful attempt, there he took three hundred prisoners. These enterprises cheered the drooping spirits of his men, and again added reputation to the American arms. He afterwards retired to Morristown, and remained during the winter, with an inferior force, but with superior skill, checking the enemy from any further encroachments in that part of the country. We

shall not enter into a minute description of the various battles and skirmishes, in which he was personally engaged during the campaign of 1777. At the battle of Brandywine, he made a gallant resistance, but was at last forced to quit his ground with the loss of about twelve hundred men killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. At Germantown he was repulsed with the loss of six hundred killed or wounded, and about four hundred prisoners. He afterwards retired to winter quarters at Valley Forge. His army was at this time in a most miserable condition, marching without stockings or shoes, over the frozen ground, their feet were so gashed, that their steps were marked with blood: Some hundreds of them were without blankets; and in this condition they were in the middle of winter, to sit down in a forest, and build huts for shelter. The destitute situation of the American army at all times, was certainly a means of procrastinating the war; oftentimes it was upon the eve of dissolution, even mutinies had been the consequence, whilst want of success, prevented many of the soldiers from continuing longer than the period of their short enlistments, and caused frequent desertion. Indeed nothing but the good destiny and consummate prudence of the commander in chief, prevented want of success from producing want of confidence on the part of the public; for want of success is apt to lead to the adoption of pernicious counsels, through the levity of the people or the ambition of their demegogues. In the three suc-

ceeding years, the germ of discipline unfolded; and the resources of America having been called into co-operation with the land and naval armies of France, produced the glorious conclusion of the campaign in 1781. On the nineteenth of October that year, the army under command of general Washington, forced that of the enemy, then under command of Lord Cornwallis, to make a final surrender; his land forces were made prisoners of war to Congress; and the naval forces were given up to France. From this time, the gloom began to disappear from our political horizon, and the affairs of the union proceeded in a meliorating train, until a peace was most ably negociated by our ambassadors in Europe, in 1783, by which thirteen of the American colonies were established as sovereign and independent states.

General Washington having never been in Europe, he could not possibly have seen much military service when the armies of Britain were sent to subdue America: yet still, for a variety of reasons, he was by much the most proper man on this continent, and probably any where else, to be placed at the head of an American army. The very high estimation he stood in for integrity and honour, his engaging in the cause of his country from sentiment and a conviction of her wrongs, his moderation in politics, his extensive property, and his approved abilities as a commander, were motives which necessarily obliged the choice of America to fall upon him.

That nature had given him extraordinary military talents, will hardly be controverted by his most bitter enemies; and having been early actuated with a warm passion to serve his country in the military line, he has greatly improved them by unwearied industry, and a close application to the best writers upon tactics, and by a more than common method and exactness; and, in reality, when it comes to be considerrd, that at first he only headed a body of men entirely unacquainted with military discipline or operations, somewhat ungovernable in temper, and who at best could only be stiled an alert and good militia, acting under very short enlistments unclothed, unaccoutred, and at all times very ill supplied with ammunition and artillery; and that with such an army he withstood the ravages and progress of nearly forty thousand veteran troops, plentifully provided with every necessary article, commanded by the bravest officers in Europe; and supported by a very powerful navy, which effectually prevented all movements by water; when, we say, all this comes to be impartially considered, we think we may venture to pronounce, that General Washington will be regarded by mankind as one of the greatest military ornaments of the present age, and his name will command the veneration of the latest posterity.

No person but those who had an opportunity of viewing the continental army, can form any adequate idea of its imperfect state when General

Washington first assumed the command, nor was it without the most unwearied application and perseverance, which few men but him, could have undergone, that he was able to establish that discipline which ultimately aided his success. From the period he first assumed the command, until the final dissolution of the army, his care and anxiety for them continued. The army he considered his family; and after the embarrassments of the day, after the toils and fatigues of a battle, we find him stealing a portion of time allotted for rest, devising means the most salutary, for their amelioration, at all times characterized with that economy and frugality which the national resources required.

The following extracts from his official letters to Congress on this subject, are worthy of perusal: they do ample justice to his feelings, and must make a lasting impression in the hearts of his fellow soldiers, viz.

Extract of a Letter from General Washington, to the honorable Congress, dated Cambridge, September 21, 1775.

"IT gives me great pain to be obliged to solicit the attention of the hourable Congress to the state of this army, in terms which imply the slightest apprehension of being neglected. But my situation is inexpressibly distressing, to see the winter fast approaching upon a naked army; the time of their service within a few weeks of expiring; and no

provision yet made for such important events. Added to these the military chest is totally exhausted: the pay-master has not a single dollar in hand: the commissary-general assures me he has strained his credit, for the subsistence of the army, to the utmost. The quarter-master-general is precisely in the same situation; and the greatest part of the troops are in a state not far from mutiny, upon the deduction from their stated allowance. I know not to whom I am to impute this failure: but I am of opinion, if the evil is not immediately remedied, and more punctuality observed in future, the army must absolutely break up. I hoped I had so fully expressed myself on this subject, (both by letter, and to those members of the Congress who honored the camp with a visit) that no disappointment could possibly happen. I therefore hourly expected advice from the pay-master that he had received a fresh supply, in addition to the hundred and seventy two thousand dollars delivered him in August: and thought myself warranted to assure the public creditors that in a few days they should be satisfied. But the delay has brought matters to such a crisis, as admits of no further uncertain expectation. I have therefore sent off this express, with orders to make all possible dispatch. It is my most earnest request that he may be returned with all possible expedition, unless the honorable Congress have already forwarded what is so indispensibly necessary."

I have the honour to be, &c.

Camp. G. W.

Letter from General Washington,

To the President of Congress.

"New-York, July 25, 1776.

"SIR,

"DISAGREEABLE as it is to me, and unpleasing as it may be to Congress, to multiply officers, I find myself under the unavoidable necessity of asking an increase of my aides-de-camp. The augmentation of my command; the increase of my correspondence: the orders to give; the instructions to draw; cut out more business than I am able to execute in time with propriety. The business of so many different departments centering with me, and by me to be handed on to Congress for their information; added to the intercourse I am obliged to keep up with the adjacent States; and incidental occurrences; all of which require confidential and not hack writers to execute; renders it impossible, in the present state of things, for my family to discharge the several duties expected of me, with that precision and dispatch that I could wish. What will it be then, when we come into a more active scene, and I am called from twenty different places perhaps at the same instant?

"Congress will do me the justice to believe (I hope) that it is not my inclination or wish to run the continent to any unnecessary expence; and those who better know me will not suspect that

shew and parade can have any influence on my mind in this instance. A conviction of the necessity of it, for the regular discharge of the trust reposed in me, is the governing motive for the application; and, as such, is submitted to Congress by,

Sir,

Your most obedient, &c.

G. W."

Extract of a Letter from Washington, to the President of Congress.

New-York, September 2, 1776.

"SIR,

"AS my intelligence of late has been rather unfavorable, and would be received with anxiety and concern; peculiarly happy should I esteem myself, were it in my power at this time, to transmit such information to Congress as would be more pleasing and agreeable to their wishes; but, unfortunately for me; unfortunately for them; it is not.

"Our situation is truly distressing. The check our detachment sustained on the twenty-seventh ultimo, has dispirited too great a proportion of our troops, and filled their minds with apprehension and despair. The militia, instead of calling forth their utmost efforts to brave and manly opposition in order to repair our losses, are dismayed, untractable, and impatient to return. Great numbers of them have gone off; in some instances, almost by

whole regiments, by half ones and by companies at a time. This circumstance, of itself, independent of others, when fronted by a well-appointed enemy superior in number to our whole collected force, would be sufficiently disagreeable: but, when their example has infected another part of the army when their want of discipline, and refusal of almost every kind of restraint and government, have produced a like conduct but too common to at the whole, and an entire disregard of the order and subordination necessary to the well doing of an army, and which had been inculcated before, as well as the nature of our military establishment would admit of; our condition is still more alarming: and with the deepest concern I am obliged to confess my want of confidence in the generality of the troops.

"All these circumstances fully confirm the opinion I ever entertained, and which I more than once in my letters took the liberty of mentioning to Congress, that no dependence could be put in a militia, or other troops than those enlisted and embodied for a longer period than our regulations heretofore have prescribed. I am persuaded, and as fully convinced as I am of any one fact that has happened, that our liberties must of necessity be greatly hazarded if not entirely lost, if their defence is left to any but a permanent standing army; I mean, one to exist during the war. Nor would the expense, incident to the support of such a body of troops as would be competent to almost every

exigency, far exceed that which is daily incurred by calling in succour, and new enlistments, which when effected, are not attended with any good consequences. Men who have been free and subject to no control, cannot be reduced to order in an instant: and the privileges and exemptions they claim and will have, influence the conduct of others; and the aid derived from them is nearly counterbalanced by the disorder, irregularity and confusion they occasion.

"I cannot find that the bounty of ten dollars is likely to produce the desired effect. When men can get double that sum to engage for a month or two in the militia, and that militia frequently called out, it is hardly to be expected. The addition of land might have a considerable influence on a permanent enlistment."

Letter from General Washington

To the President of Congress.

Col. Morris's, on the Heights of Haerlem, September 24, 1776.

SIR,

"FROM the hours allotted to sleep, I will borrow a few moments to convey my thoughts on sundry important matters to Congress. I shall offer them with the sincerity which ought to characterise a man of candour, and with the freedom

which may be used in giving useful information, without incurring the imputation of presumption.

"We are now, as it were, upon the eve of another dissolution of our army. The remembrance of the difficulties which happened upon the occasion last year, the consequences which migh have followed the change if proper advantages had been taken by the enemy, added to a knowledge of the present temper and situation of the troops, reflect but a gloomy prospect upon the appearances of things now, and satisfy me beyond the possibility of doubt, that, unless some speedy and effectual measures are adopted by Congress, our cause will be lost.

"It is in vain to expect that any or more than a trifling part of this army will again engage in the service on the encouragement offered by Congress, when men find that their townsmen and companions are receiving twenty, thirty, and more dollars, for a few months' service (which is truly the case,) it cannot be expected without using compulsion; and to force them into the service would answer no valuable purpose. When men are irritated, and the passions inflamed, they fly hastily and cheerfully to arms; but after the first emotions are over * * *, a soldier, reasoned with upon the goodness of the cause he is engaged in, and the inestimable rights he is contending for, hears you with patience, and acknowledges the truth of your observations, but adds, that it is of no more importance to him than others. The officer

makes you the same reply, with this further remark, that his pay will not support him, and he cannot ruin himself and family to serve his country, when every member of the community is equally interested and benefited by his labours. * * *

"It becomes evidently clear then, that as this contest is not likely to be the work of a day,—as the war must be carried on systematically,—and to do it you must have good officers,—there are, in my judgment, no other possible means to obtain them but by establishing your army upon a permanent footing, and giving your officers good pay. This will induce gentlemen and men of character to engage; and, till the bulk of your officers are composed of such persons as are actuated by principles of honor and a spirit of enterprise, you have little to expect from them. They ought to have such allowances as will enable them to live like and support the characters of gentlemen. * * * Besides, something is due to the man who puts his life in [*your*] hands, hazards his health, and forgets the sweets of domestic enjoyment. Why a captain in the continental service should receive no more than five shillings currency per day for performing the same duties that an officer of the same rank in the British service receives ten shillings sterling for, I never could conceive, especially when the latter is provided with every necessary he requires upon the best terms, and the former can scarce procure them at any rate. There is nothing that gives a man consequence and renders

him fit for command, like a support that renders him independent of every body but the state he serves.

"With respect to the men, nothing but a good bounty can obtain them upon a permanent establishment; and for no shorter time than the continuance of the war, ought they to be engaged; as facts incontestibly prove that the difficulty and cost of enlistments increase with time. When the army was first raised at Cambridge, I am persuaded that the men might have been got, without a bounty, for the war. After this they began to see that the contest was not likely to end so speedily as was imagined, and to feel their consequence by remarking, that, to get in the militia in the course of the last year, many towns were induced to give them a bounty.

"Foreseeing the evils resulting from this, and the destructive consequences which unavoidably would follow short enlistments, I took the liberty in a long letter (date not now recollected, as my letter book is not here) to recommend the enlistments for and during the war, assigning such reasons for it as experience has since convinced me were well founded. At that time, twenty dollars would, I am persuaded, have engaged the men for this term. But it will not do to look back: and if the present opportunity is slipped, I am persuaded that twelve months more will increase our difficulties four-fold. I shall therefore take the freedom of giving it as my opinion, that a good bounty be immediately

offered, aided by the proffer of at least a hundred or a hundred and fifty acres of land, and a suit of clothes and blanket to each non-commissioned officer and soldier; as I have good authority for saying, that however high the men's pay may appear, it is barely sufficient, in the present scarcity and dearness of all kinds of goods, to keep them in clothes, much less afford support to their families.

"If this encouragement then is given to the men, and such pay allowed the officers as will induce gentlemen of character and liberal sentiments to engage, and proper care and precaution used in the nomination (having more regard to the characters of persons than the number of men they can enlist,) we should in a little time have an army able to cope with any that can be opposed to it, as there are excellent materials to form one out of. But while the only merit an officer possesses is his ability to raise men, while those men consider and treat him as an equal, and (in the character of an officer) regard him no more than a broomstick, being mixed together as one common herd, no order nor discipline can prevail; nor will the officer ever meet with that respect which is essentially necessary to due subordination.

"To place any dependence upon militia, is assuredly resting upon a broken staff—men just dragged from the tender scenes of domestic life—unaccustomed to the din of arms—totally unacquainted with every kind of military skill; which being followed by a want of confidence in them,

selves, when opposed to troops regularly trained, disciplined, and appointed, superior in knowledge, and superior in arms, makes them timid and ready to fly from their own shadows. Besides, the sudden change in their manner of living (particularly in the lodging) brings on sickness in many, impatience in all, and such an unconquerable desire of returning to their respective homes, that it not only produces shameful and scandalous desertions among themselves, but infuses the like spirit into others.

"Again; men accustomed to unbounded freedom and no control, cannot brook the restraint which is indispensibly necessary to the good order and government of an army · without which, licentiousness and every kind of disorder triumphantly reign. To bring men to a proper degree of subordination is not the work of a day, a month, or even a year; and unhappily for us and the cause we are engaged in, the little discipline I have been laboring to establish in the army under my immediate command, is in a manner done away, by having such a mixture of troops as have been called together within these few months.

"Relaxed and unfit as our rules and regulations of war are for the government of an army, the militia (those properly so called; for of these we have two sort, the six-months-men, and those sent in as a temporary aid) do not think themselves subject to them, and therefore take liberties which the soldier is punished for. This creates jealousy; jea-

ousy begets dissatisfactions; and these by degrees ripen into mutiny, keeping the whole army in a confused and disordered state; rendering the time of those who wish to see regularity and good order prevail, more unhappy than words can describe. Besides this, such repeated changes take place, that all arrangement is set at nought, and the constant fluctuation of things deranges every plan as fast as adopted.

"These, sir, Congress may be assured, are but a small part of the inconveniencies which might be enumerated, and attributed to militia: but there is one that merits particular attention, and that is the expense. Certain I am, that it would be cheaper to keep fifty or an hundred thousand in constant pay, than to depend upon half the number, and supply the other half occasionally by militia. The time the latter are in pay before and after they are in camp, assembling and marching; the waste of ammunition, the consumption of stores, which, in spite of every resolution or requisition of Congress, they must be furnished with, or sent home; added to other incidental expences consequent upon their coming and conduct in camp, surpasses all idea, and destroys every kind of regularity and economy which you could establish among fixed and settled troops, and will, in my opinion, prove (if the scheme is adhered to) the ruin of our cause.

"The jealousies of a standing army, and the evils to be apprehended from one, are remote, and, in my judgment, situated and circumstanced as

we are, not at all to be dreaded: but the consequence of wanting one, according to my ideas formed from the present view of things, is certain and inevitable ruin. For, if I was called upon to declare upon oath, whether the militia have been most serviceable or hurtful upon the whole, I should subscribe to the latter. I do not mean by this, however, to arraign the conduct of Congress; in so doing, I should equally condemn my own measures, if did not my judgment: but experience, which is the best criterion to work by, so fully, clearly and decisively reprobates the practice of trusting to militia, that no man who regards order, regularity and economy, or who has any regard to his own honour, character, or peace of mind, will risk them upon this issue. * * *

"An army formed of good officers, moves like clock-work: but there is no situation on earth less enviable nor more distressing than that person's who is at the head of troops who are regardless of order and discipline, and who are unprovided with almost every necessary. In a word, the difficulties which have forever surrounded me since I have been in the service, and kept my mind constantly upon the stretch—the wounds which my feelings (as an officer) have received a thousand things which have happened contrary to my expectation and wishes, * * *—added to a consciousness of my inability to govern an army composed of such discordant parts, and under such a variety of intricate and perplexing circumstances—induce not only

a belief, but a thorough conviction in my mind, that it will be impossible (unless there is a thorough change in our military system) for me to conduct matters in such a manner as to give satisfaction to the public, which is all the recompence I aim at, or ever wished for.

" Before I conclude, I must apologize for the liberties taken in this letter, and for the blots and scratchings therein, not having time to give it more correctly. With truth I can add, that, with every sentiment of respect and esteem, I am yours and the Congress

most obedient, &c.

G. W."

Letter from General Washington,

To the Committee of Congress, on a visit to the Camp.

Camp at the Clove, July 19, 1777.

GENTLEMEN,

" The little notice I had of your coming to the army, and the shortness of your stay in camp, will more than probably occasion the omission of many matters, which of right ought to be laid before you; and the interruption which my thoughts constantly meet by a variety of occurrences, must apologize for the crude and indigested manner in which they are offered.

" The completion of the continental regiments

is a matter of such infinite importance, that I think no means should be left unessayed to accomplish it. Draughting where the powers of government are adequate, would be the speediest and most effectual, but if it should be thought unadvisable to attempt this mode—next to it I would recommend that the business of recruiting should be taken entirely out of the hands of the officers of the army, and that each state should appoint some person of known activity (one for instance, who has been a good under-sheriff) in each county or township, not only to recruit, but to apprehend deserters: these persons to be liberally rewarded for each recruit, and deserter whom they shall deliver, at stated periods and places, to officers appointed to receive, discipline, and march them to the army; none of these recruiters to have the smallest power to act out of their own districts, but to be absolutely fixed to them.

"A mode of this kind would, in my humble opinion, be less burthensome to the public than the present; prevent the idle habits which recruiting officers contract, not only injurious to themselves, but to others; the most effectual means which can be devised for the recovery of deserters; the surest way of keeping your regiments of equal strength, and of making the duty more equal in the detail of it: in a word, many valuable advantages would result from it, whilst I can suggest but one reason against it; and that, (fully satisfied I am) when weighed in the scale of interest, will not operate;

I mean, the keeping so many officers in the camp, who might be spared from the duties of the field till the regiments are stronger than at present. The sixteen additional regiments labour under such disadvantages in some states, as to render the interposition of Congress, in some shape or other, indispensably necessary.

"With respect to food, considering we are in such an extensive and abundant country, no army was ever worse supplied than ours, with many essential articles of it. Our soldiers, the greatest part of last campaign and the whole of this, have scarcely tasted any kind of vegetables, had but little salt; and vinegar which would have been a tolerable substitute for vegetables, they have been in a great measure strangers to. Neither have they been provided with proper drink: beer or cider seldom comes within the verge of the camp, and rum in much too small quantities. Thus, to devouring large quantities of animal food, untempered by vegetables or vinegar, or by any kind of drink but water, and eating indifferent bread, (but for this, a remedy is provided) are to be ascribed the many putrid diseases incident to the army, and the lamentable mortality that attended us last campaign. If these evils can be remedied, the expence and trouble ought not to be obstacles.—Though some kinds of vegetables are not to be had, others are, which, together with sour crout and vinegar, might easily be had, if proper persons acquainted with the business were employed therein,

"Soap is another article in great demand, the continental allowance is too small; and, dear as every necessary of life is now got, a soldier's pay will not enable him to purchase; by which means his consequent dirtiness adds not a little to the diseases of the army.

"I have no reason to accuse the clothier general of inattention to his department; and therefore, as his supplies are incompetent to the wants of the army, I am to suppose his resources are unequal. Ought not each state then to be called upon to draw such supplies from the country manufactories, as can be afforded? particularly of shoes, stockings, shirts and blankets, articles indispensably necessary, and of which scarce too many can be provided: in the mean while every provision to be making, for clothing the troops uniformly and warm in the winter. It is a maxim that needs no illucidation, that nothing can be of more importance in an army, than the clothing and feeding it well. On these the health, comfort and spirits of the soldiers essentially depend; and it is a melancholy fact, that the American army are miserably defective in both these respects. The distress most of them are in for want of clothing is painful to humanity, dispiriting to themselves, and discouraging to every officer. It makes every pretention to the preservation of cleanliness impossible, exposes them to a variety of disorders, and abates or destroys that military pride without which nothing can be expected from any army.

"The consequence of giving rank indiscrimately is much to be dreaded: great dissatisfaction has already arisen on account of bestowing this on officers in the civil departments of the army, on the inferior staff, waggon-masters, &c. who, by custom, propriety, and every other motive, are excluded from it in all well regulated armies. The too great liberality practised in this respect will destroy the pride of rank where it ought to exist, and will not only render it cheap, but contemptible. It is the policy of all armies to make it valued and respected, as a stimulus to emulation, and an incitement to bold and gallant undertakings; it must be very unadviseably therefore, in our infant state of war, to adopt novel customs to bring it into discredit; which must and will be the consequence of making it too common, besides the disgust it creates in others.

"An auditor of accounts, to be constantly with the army, is absolutely requisite. It is absolutely impossible for me, crowded as I am with other business, to examine and adjust the numerous complex accounts of the army with that correctness the public have a right to expect, before warrants pass for payment; and, without doing it, great impositions may follow. The provisions for making regimental pay-masters regulate all regimental accounts is altogether incompetent to the end proposed from it; for these men being appointed generally agreeable to the recommendation of the field officers of the regiments they belong to; as-

sociating constantly with the officers of their corps, and in a great measure under their controul; cannot be considered as sufficiently uninfluenced; nor are auditors at a distance from the army of much use, as it would require a delay not admissible, to send accounts to them to audit before they were passed and paid in consequence of warrants from the commander in chief of the army.

"A good geographer, to survey the roads and take sketches of the country where the army is to act, would be extremely useful, and might be attended with exceeding valuable consequences. He might with propriety have the chief direction of the guides, and must have a head to procure, govern, and pay them. If such a person should be approved of, I would beg leave to recommend Mr. Robert Erskine, who is thoroughly skilled in this business, has already assisted us in making maps of the country, and has (as I am informed) uniformly supported the character of a fast friend to America.

"A small travelling press, to follow head-quarters, would be productive of many eminent advantages. It would enable us to give speedy and exact information of any military transactions that take place, with proper comments upon them, and thereby frustrate the pernicious tendency of falsehood and misrepresentation, which, in my opinion, of whatever complexion they may be, are [illegible] the main, detrimental to our cause. If the people had a channel of intelligence, that, from its usual au-

thenticity, they could look up to with confidence, they might often be preserved from that despondency which they are apt to fall into, from the exaggerated pictures our enemies and their emissaries among us commonly draw of any misfortunes we meet with—and from that diffidence of truths favorable to us, which they must naturally feel from the frequent deception they are exposed to, by the extravagant colourings our friends often give to our successes. It would also be very useful to dispatch business in camp, being the most expeditious means of taking copies of orders or other matters that require to be dispersed, and would save a good deal in returns and other papers we are often obliged to get printed in Philadelphia. An ingenious man to accompany this press, and be employed wholly in writing for it, might render it singularly beneficial.

"I am exceedingly embarrassed how to dispose of the French officers in general, but more especially the artillery officers, who are come out under the sanction of a compact. I can think of no other way than that of forming a separate corps of them, and draughting men from the whole line to compose that corps: but even this will be attended with many disagreeable effects; among others, this is not the least, that officers will think themselves much injured to have the men they have had the trouble of raising, taken from them and given to others. There is something in this which is discouraging, and breaks the spirit of a good offi-

cer, who prides himself in having a full and complete corps.

"A doubt has arisen, whether a person who belongs to any of the United States of America, and who owed allegiance to any of the said states, —that went to the enemy some time past, and since that time has been lurking about any of the fortifications, or about any of the encampments of the armies of the United States, plundering and driving off cattle to the enemy, recruiting for them, or committing any other atrocious crime, or who is appointed an officer in the enemy's army—can be tried by a general court-martial, under the resolution of Congress of the twenty-first of August, 1776, and punished as a spy. I have the honour to be, &c.

G. W."

Correspondence between General Washington and General Gage, respecting the bad treatment of prisoners.

Letter from his Excellency General Washington, to General Gage.

Head-Quarters, Cambridge, August 11, 1775.

SIR,

"I understand that the officers engaged in the cause of liberty and their country, who, by the fortune of war, have fallen into your hands, have been thrown indiscriminately into a common gaol,

appropriated for felons—that no consideration has been made for those of the most respectable rank, when languishing with wounds and sickness—that some of them have been amputated in this unworthy situation.

"Let your opinion, sir, of the principle which actuates them, be what it may, they suppose they act from the noblest of all principles, a love of freedom and their country. But political opinions, I conceive, are foreign to this point. The obligations arising from the right of humanity and claims of rank, are universally binding and extensive, except in case of retaliation. These, I should have hoped, would have dictated a more tender treatment of those individuals, whom chance or war had put in your power. Nor can I forbear suggesting its fatal tendency to widen that unhappy breach, which you, and those ministers under whom you act, have repeatedly declared you wish to see forever closed.

"My duty now makes it necessary to apprise you, that for the future, I shall regulate my conduct towards those gentlemen of your army, who are, or may be in our possession, exactly by the rule you may observe towards those of ours who may be in your custody.

"If severity and hardship mark the line of your conduct) painful as it may be to me) your prisoners will feel its effects; but if kindness and humanity are shewn to ours, I shall, with pleasure, consider those in our hands, only as unfortunate,

and they shall receive from me that treatment to which the unfortunate are ever entitled.

"I beg to be favored with an answer as soon as possible, and am, sir,

Your very humble servant,

G. WASHINGTON."

His Excellency General Gage.

ANSWER.

Boston, August 13, 1775.

"SIR,

"TO the glory of civilized nations, humanity and war have been compatible; and compassion to the subdued is become almost a general system.

"Britons, ever pre-eminent in mercy, have outgone common examples, and overlooked the criminal in the captive. Upon these principles your prisoners, whose lives, by the laws of the land, are destined to the cord, have hitherto been treated with care and kindness, and more comfortably lodged, than the king's troops, in the hospitals; indiscriminately, it is true, for I acknowledge no rank that is not derived from the king.

"My intelligence from your army would justify severe recrimination. I understand there are some of the king's faithful subjects, taken some time since by the rebels, labouring like Negro slaves to gain their daily subsistence, or reduced to the

wretched alternative, to perish by famine, or take up arms against their kin, and country. Those, who have made the treatment of the prisoners in my hands, or of your other friends in Boston, a pretence for such measures, found barbarity upon falsehood.

"I would willingly hope, sir, that the sentiments of liberality which I have always believed you to posses, will be exerted to correct their misdoings. Be temperate in political disquisitions; give free operation to truth, and punish those who deceive and misrepresent; and not only the effects, but the causes of this unhappy conflict will soon be removed.

"Should those, under whose usurped authority you act, controul such a disposition, and dare to call severity retaliation, to God, who knows all hearts, be the appeal for the dreadful consequences. I trust, that British soldiers, asserting the rights of the state, the laws of the land, the being of the constitution, will meet all events with becoming fortitude. They will court victory with the spirit their cause inspires, and from the same motive, will find the patience of martyrs under misfortune.

"Till I read your insinuations in regard to ministers, I conceived that I acted under the king; whose wishes, it is true, as well as those of his ministers, and of every honest man, have been to see this unhappy breach forever closed: but unfortunately for both countries, those who have long

since projected the present crisis, and influence the councils of America, have views very distant from accommodation. I am, sir,

Your obedient, humble servant,

THOMAS GAGE."

George Washington, Esq.

REPLY.

Head-Quarters, Cambridge,
August 19, 1775.

"SIR,

"I addressed you on the 11th instant, in terms which gave the fairest scope for the exercise of that humanity and politeness, which were supposed to form a part of your character. I remonstrated with you on the unworthy treatment shewn to the officers and citizens of America, whom the fortune of war, chance, or a mistaken confidence, had thrown into your hands.

"Whether British or American mercy, fortitude and patience, are most pre-eminent—whether our virtuous citizens, whom the hand of tyranny has forced into arms, to defend their wives, their children, and their property, or the mercenary instruments of lawless domination, avarice and revenge, best deserve the appellation of rebels, and the punishment of that cord, which your affected clemency has forborn to inflict—whether the authority under which I act, is usurped, or founded on the genuine principles of liberty, were altogeth-

or foreign to the subject. I purposely avoided all political disquisition; nor shall I now avail myself of those advantages, which the sacred cause of my country, of liberty and human nature, give me over you; much less shall I stoop to retort any invective. But the intelligence, you say you have received from our army, requires a reply. I have taken time, sir, to make a strict enquiry, and find that it has not the least foundation in truth. Not only your officers and soldiers have been treated with a tenderness due to fellow-citizens and brethren, but even those execrable parricides, whose councils and aid have deluged their country in blood, have been protected from the fury of a justly engaged people. Far from compelling or permitting their assistance, I am embarrassed with the number who crowd to our camp, animated with the purest principles of virtue and love of their country. You advise me to give free operation to truth; to punish misrepresentation and falsehood. If experience stamps value upon counsel, yours must have a weight which few can claim. You best can tell how far the convulsion, which has brought such ruin on both countries, and shaken the mighty empire of Britain to its foundation, may be traced to these malignant causes.

"You affect, sir, to despise all rank, not derived from the same source with your own. I cannot conceive one more honourable, than that which

flows from the uncorrupted choice of a brave and free people, the purest source and original fountain of all power.—Far from making it a plea for cruelty, a mind of true magnanimity and enlarged ideas, would comprehend and respect it.

"What may have been the ministerial views which have precipitated the present crisis, Lexington, Concord, and Carlestown, can best declare. May that God, to whom you then appealed, judge between America and you. Under his providence, those who influence the councils of America, and all the other inhabitants of the united colonies, at the hazard of their lives, are determined to hand down to posterity, those just and invaluable privileges which they received from their ancestors.

"I shall now, sir, close my correspondence with you, perhaps for ever. If your officers, our prisoners, receive a treatment from me different from what I wished to shew them, they and you will remember the occasion of it.

"I am, sir,

"Your very humble servant,

"G. WASHINGTON."

"General Gage."

The preceding letters will ever convey to the world, a sufficient testimony of the attention and care, which, at all times, General Washington extended to the soldiers under his command. The whole of his official letters are uniformly characterized with those tender and sympathetic pictures, which the appearance of real want in others impress on a lively and feeling mind, and which was the best calculated to rouse in the minds of Congress, a sense of the sufferings of those who were sacrificing their ease, and risking their lives to establish the idependence of their country. Observe the extreme modesty which he assumes, when he requests for himself, even an aid-de-camp, which the multiplicity of his cares rendered essential—contrast it with that freedom with which he delivers his opinion on other subjects which regard the comfort of his fellow-soldiers only—and with the manly language in which he addressses General Gage, for his ill treatment to those whom the misfortune of war placed in his power—Then we behold the citizen—the General.

To those ungrateful few, who, stimulated by malice, have heretofore endeavoured to sully his honour and military reputation, and to impress upon the public mind, the ungenerous idea, that he was instrumental to the shedding of innocent blood, and inflicting wanton cruelty upon the prisoners of the enemy, we recommend a perusal of his letters to Congress upon that subject; there they will find him combating the idea with the language of

reason, and censuring the inhuman practice. The historians of the American war have uniformly represented the case of Major André as an example of inhuman murder on the part of America. On this occasion, General Washington sacrificed his own feelings, to the "necessities of inexorable justice." The sentence was pronounced with much hesitation, and, at its execution, he was seen to shed tears—Nor is it necessary for us to remind them of his fortitude to withstand the threats, or virtue to scorn the bribes of the emissaries of the British Cabinet, for one uniform principle of prudence and wisdom seems to have regulated every transaction of his life.

When General Washington received the joyful intelligence of peace, he expressed himself to the army who had accompanied him through the dangers, toils and difficulties of this glorious struggle, in the following address:

ORDERS

Issued by General Washington, to the army.

Head-Quarters, April 18, 1783,

THE Commander in Chief orders the cessation of hostilities between the United States of America and the King of Great-Britain, to be publicly proclaimed to-morrow, at twelve o'clock, at the new building; and that the proclamation, which will be communicated herewith, be read to-morrow

evening at the head of every regiment and corps of the army; after which the chaplains, with the several brigades, will render thanks to the Almighty God for all his mercies, particularly for his over-ruling the wrath of man to his own glory, and causing the rage of war to cease among nations.

"Although the proclamation, before alluded to, extends only to the prohibition of hostilities, and not to the annunciation of a general peace, yet it must afford the most rational and sincere satisfaction to every benevolent mind, as it puts a period to a long a doubtful contest, stops the effusion of human blood, opens the prospect to a more splendid scene, and, like another morning star, promises the approach of brighter days than hath hitherto illuminated the Western Hemisphere. On such a happy day, which is the harbinger of peace, a day which completes the eighth year of the war, it would be ingratitude not to rejoice: it would be insensibility not to participate in the general felicity.

"The Commander in Chief, far from endeavoring to stifle the feelings of joy in his own bosom, offers his most cordial congratulations on the occasion to all the officers of every denomination; to all the troops of the United States in general; and, in particular, to those gallant and persevering men who had resolved to defend the rights of their invaded country, so long as the war should continue. For these are the men who ought to be considered as the pride and boast of the American army; and

who crowned, with well-earned laurels, may soon withdraw from the field of glory to the more tranquil walks of civil life. While the Commander in Chief recollects the almost infinite variety of scenes through which we have past, with a mixture of pleasure, astonishment, and gratitude; while he contemplates the prospect before us with rapture, he cannot help wishing that all the brave men, of whatever condition they may be, who have shared the toils and dangers of effecting this glorious revolution; of rescuing millions from the hand of oppression, and of laying the foundation of a great empire, might be impressed with a proper idea of the dignified part they have been called to act, under the smiles of Providence, on the stage of human affairs; for happy, thrice happy shall they be pronounced hereafter, who have contributed any thing, who have performed the meanest office in erecting this stupendous FABRIC OF FREEDOM AND EMPIRE on the broad basis of independency; who have assisted in protecting the rights of human nature, and establishing an asylum for the poor and oppressed of all nations and religions.—The glorious task for which we at first flew to arms being accomplished—the liberties of our country being fully acknowledged and firmly secured by the smiles of Heaven on the purity of our cause, and the honest exertions of a feeble people, determined to be free, against a powerful nation disposed to oppress them; and the character of those who have persevered through every extremity of

hardship, suffering, and danger, being immortalized by the illustrious appellation of the *patriot army*, nothing now remains but for the actors of this mighty scene to preserve a perfect unvarying consistency of character through the very last act, to close the drama with applause; and to retire from the military theatre with the same approbation of angels and men which have crowned all their former virtuous actions. For this purpose, no disorder or licentiousness must be tolerated.—Every considerate and well-disposed soldier must remember it will be absolutely necessary to wait with patience until peace shall be declared, or Congress shall be enabled to take proper measures for the security of the public stores, &c. As soon as these arrangements shall be made, the General is confident, there will be no delay in discharging, with every mark of distinction and honor, all the men enlisted for the war, who will then have faithfully performed their engagements with the public. The General has already interested himself in their behalf, and he thinks he need not repeat the assurance of his disposition to be useful to them on the present and every other proper occasion. In the mean time, he is determined that no military neglects or excesses shall go unpunished while he retains the command of the army.

"The Adjutant-General will have such working parties detached, to assist in making the preparations for a general rejoicing, as the chief Engineer with the army shall call for; and the Quar-

ter Master-General will, without delay, procure such a number of discharges to be printed as will be sufficient for all the men enlisted for the war—he will please to apply to head-quarters for the form.—An extra ration of liquor to be issued to every man to-morrow to drink, "Perpetual Peace and Happiness to the United States of America."

The following resolutions were passed by Congress, on the 7th of August, 1783, viz.

"BY THE UNITED STATES,

IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

"*Resolved unanimously*, Ten States being present,

"THAT an Equestrian Statue of General Washington be erected at the place where the residence of Congress shall be established:

"*Resolved*, That the statute, be of bronze, the General to be represented in a Roman dress, holding a truncheon in his right hand, and his head encircled in a laurel wreath; the statute to be supported by a marble pedestal, on which are to be represented, in basso relievo, the following principal events of the war, in which General Washington commanded in person, viz. The Evacuation of Boston—The Capture of the Hessians at Trenton—The Battle of Princeton—The action of Monmouth—and the surrender of York. On the upper part of the front of the pedestal to be engraved

as follows; "The United States in Congress assembled, ordered this statute to be erected in the year of our Lord, 1783, in the honour of George Washington, the illustrious commander in chief of the armies of the United States of America, during the war, which vindicated and secured their liberty, sovereignty and independence."

"*Resolved*, That a statue conformable to the above plan, be executed by the best artist in Europe, under the superintendance of the Minister of the United States at the Court of Versailles, and that money to defray the expence of the same, be furnished from the Treasury of the United States.

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary of Congress transmit to the Minister of the United States at the Court of Versailles, the best resemblance of General Washington that can be procured, for the purpose of having the above statute erected, together with the fittest description of the events which are to be the subject of the basso relievo."

On the 26th of August, 1783, General Washington, at the request of Congress, proceeded to Princeton, where the Congress was then sitting, and being introduced by two members, the President addressed him as follows, *viz.*

"SIR,

"CONGRESS feel particular pleasure in seeing your Excellency, and in congratulating you on

the success of a war in which you have acted so conspicuous a part:

"It has been the singular happiness of the United States, that during a war so long, so dangerous and so important, Providence has been graciously pleased to preserve the life of a general, who has merited and possessed the uninterrupted confidence and affection of his fellow-citizens. In other nations, many have performed services for which they have deserved and received the thanks of the public; but to you, sir, peculiar praise is due: your services have been essential in acquiring and establishing the freedom and independence of your country; they deserve the grateful acknowledgment of a free and independent nation; those acknowledgments Congress have the satisfaction of expressing to your Excellency.

"Hostilities have now ceased, but your country still needs you services; she wishes to avail herself of your talents in forming the arrangements which will be necessary for her in the time of peace; for this reason, your attendance at Congress has been requested. A Committe is appointed to confer with your Excellency, and to receive your assistance in preparing and adjusting plans relative to those important objects."

To which his Excellency made the following

REPLY

" *Mr. President,*

" I AM too sensible of the honourable reception I have now experienced, not to be penetrated with the deepest feelings of gratitude.

" Notwithstanding Congress appear to estimate the value of my life beyond any services I have been able to render the United States, yet I must be permitted to consider the wisdom and unanimity of our national councils, the firmness of our citizens, and the patience and bravery of our troops, which have produced so happy a termination of the war, as the most conspicuous effect of the Divine interposition, and the surest presage of our future happiness

" Highly gratified by the favorable sentiments which Congress are pleased to express of my past conduct, and amply rewarded by the confidence and affection of my fellow-citizens, I cannot hesitate to contribute my best endeavours towards the establishment of the national security in whatever manner the sovereign power may think proper to direct, until the ratification of the definitive treaty of peace, or the final evacuation of our country by the British forces; after either of which events I shall ask permission to retire to the peaceful shade of private life.

" Perhaps, sir, no occasion may offer more suit-

able than the present, to express my humble thanks to God, and my grateful acknowledgments to my country, for the great and uniform support I have received in every vicissitude of fortune, and for the many distinguished honors which Congress have been pleased to confer upon me in the course of the war."

After the final conclusion of the peace in 1783, a proclamation was issued by Congress, October 18th, directing the discharge of the army: whereupon General Washington, before he resigned his important charge, delivered the following elegant and pathetic farewell address, to the officers and soldiers, under his command, viz.

General Washington's farewell Orders

To the Armies of the United States.

Rocky-Hill, near Princeton,
November 2, 1783.

THE United States in Congress assembled, after giving the most honorable testimony to the federal armies, and presenting them with the thanks of their country, for their long, eminent, and faithful services—having thought proper, by their proclamation, bearing date the 18th of October last, to discharge such part of the troops as were engaged for the war, and to permit the officers on furlough to retire from service, from and after to-morrow, which proclamation having been

communicated in the public papers for the information and government of all concerned; it only remains for the commander in chief to address himself once more, and that for the last time, to the armies of the United States (however widely dispersed the individuals who composed them may be) and bid them an affectionate—a long farewell.

But before the commander in chief takes his final leave of those he holds most dear, he wishes to indulge himself a few moments in calling to mind a slight review of the past—he will then take the liberty of exploring, with his military friends, their future prospects; of advising the general line of conduct which, in his opinion, ought to be pursued; and he will conclude the address, by expressing the obligations he feels himself under for the spirited and able assistance he has experienced from them, in the performance of an arduous office.

A contemplation of the complete attainment, at a period earlier than could have been expected, of the object for which we contended, against so formidable a power, cannot but inspire us with astonishment and gratitude. The disadvantageous circumstances on our part, under which the war was undertaken, can never be forgotten. The singular interpositions of Providence, in our feeble condition, were such as could scarcely escape the attention of the most unobserving; while the unparalleled perseverance of the armies of the United States, through almost every possible suffering and

discouragement, for the space of eight long years, was little short of a standing miracle.

It is not the meaning, nor within the compass of this address, to detail the hardships peculiarly incident to our service, or to describe the distresses, which, in several instances, have resulted from the extremes of hunger and nakedness, combined with the rigors of an inclement season; nor is it necessary to dwell on the dark side of our past affairs. Every American officer and soldier must now console himself for any unpleasant circumstances which may have occurred by the recollection of the uncommon scenes in which he has been called to act no inglorious part, and the astonishing events of which he has been a witness: events which have seldom, if ever before, taken place before on the stage of human action, nor can they probably ever happen again. For, who has before seen a disciplined army formed at once from such raw materials? Who that was not a witness, could imagine, that the most violent local prejudices would cease so soon, and that men who came from the different parts of the continent strongly disposed, by the habits of education, to despise and quarrel with each other, would instantly become but one patriotic band of brothers? or who that was not on the spot, can trace the steps, by which such a wonderful revolution has been effected, and such a glorious period put to all our warlike toils?

It is universally acknowledged that the enlarged prospects of happiness, opened by the confirmation

of our independence and sovereignty, almost exceed the power of description : and shall not the brave men who have contributed so essentially to these inestimable acquisitions, retiring victorious from the field of war to the field of agriculture, participate in all the blessings which have been obtained? In such a republic, who will exclude them from the rights of citizens, and the fruits of their labours? In such a country, so happily circumstanced, the pursuits of commerce and the cultivation of the soil will unfold to industry the certain road to competence. To those hardy soldiers, who are actuated by the spirit of adventure, the fisheries will afford ample and profitable employment ; and the extensive and fertile regions of the west will yield a most happy asylum to those, who, fond of domestic enjoyment, are seeking for personal independence. Nor is it possible to conceive that any one of the United States will prefer a national bankruptcy, and a dissolution of the union, to a compliance with the requisitions of Congress and the payment of its just debts—so that the officers and soldiers may expect considerable assistance, in recommencing their civil occupations, from the sums due to them from the public, which must and will most inevitably be paid.

In order to effect this desirable purpose, and to remove the prejudices which may have taken possession of the minds of any of the good people of the states, it is earnestly recommended to all the troops, that, with strong attachment to the union,

they should carry with them into civil society the most conciliating dispositions; and that they should prove themselves not less virtuous and useful as citizens, than they have been persevering and victorious as soldiers. What though there should be some envious individuals, who are unwilling to pay the debt the public has contracted, or to yield the tribute due to merit, yet let such unworthy treatment produce no invective, or any instance of intemperate conduct—let it be remembered, that the unbiassed voice of the free citizens of the United States has promised the just reward, and given the merited applause; let it be known and remembered, that the reputation of the federal armies is established beyond the reach of malevolence, and let a consciousness of their atchievements and fame still incite the men who composed them, to honourable actions, under the persuasion, that the virtues of economy, prudence, and industry, will not be the less amiable in civil life, than the more splendid qualities of valour, perseverance and enterprize, were in the field. Every one may rest assured that much, very much, of the future happiness of the officers and men, will depend upon the wise and manly conduct which shall be adopted by them, when they are mingled with the great body of the community. And, although the general has so frequently given it as his opinion, in the most public and explicit manner, that unless the principles of the federal government were properly supported, and the powers of the union in

creased, the honour, dignity, and justice of the nation would be lost for ever; yet he cannot help repeating on this occasion so interesting a sentiment, and leaving it as his last injunction to every officer and soldier, who may view the subject in the same serious point of light, to add his best indeavors, to those of his worthy fellow citizens, towards effecting these great and valuable purposes, on which our very existence as a nation so materially depends.

The commander in chief conceives little is now wanting to enable the soldier to change his military character into that of the citizen, but that steady and decent tenor of behaviour, which has generally distinguished, not only the army under his immediate command, but the different detachments and separate armies, through the course of the war. From their good sense and prudence he anticipates the happiest consequences—and while he congratulates them on the glorious occasion which renders their services in the field no longer necessary, he wishes to express the strong obligations he feels himself under, for the assistance he has received from every class, and in every instance. He presents his thanks in the most serious and affectionate manner to the general officers, as well for their counsel on many interesting occasions, as for their ardour in promoting the success of the plans he had adopted; to the commandants of regiments and corps, and to the other officers, for their great zeal and attention in carrying his or-

ders promptly into execution; to the staff, for their alacrity and exactness in performing the duties of their several departments; and to the non-commissioned officers and private soldiers, for their extraordinary patience in suffering as well as their invincible fortitude in action; to the various branches of the army, the general takes this last and solemn opportunity of professing his inviolable attachment and friendship. He wishes more than bare professions were in his power, that he was really able to be useful to them all in future life.—He flatters himself, they will do him the justice to believe, that whatever could with propriety be attempted by him, has been done. And being now to conclude these his last public orders, to take his ultimate leave in a short time, of the military character—and to bid a final adieu to the armies he has so long had the honour to command—he can only again offer, in their behalf, his recommendations to their grateful country, and his prayers to the God of armies. May ample justice be done them here, and may the choicest of Heaven's favors, both here and hereafter, attend those, who, under the Divine auspices, have secured innumerable blessings for others! With these wishes, and this benediction, the commander in chief is about to retire from service. The curtain of separation will soon be drawn—and the military scene to him will be closed for ever.

E. Hand, adj. gen.

To the preceding address the officers of the part of the army remaining on the banks of the Hudson, returned a suitable answer; they thanked the commander in chief for the communication of his affectionate assurances of his inviolable attachment and friendship; they assured his Excellency that although as yet his endeavours to ensure to the armies the just reward of their services, had failed of success, they were convinced that it had arisen from causes which it was not in his power to controul, and should the contemplated measure never be attained, that their patriotism should still remain unshaken: They were happy in the opportunity of congratulating his Excellency on the certain conclusion of the *Definitive Treaty of Peace*, assuring him, that, relieved at last from long suspense, their warmest wish was to return to the bosom of their country, to resume the character of citizens; and that it should be their highest ambition to become useful ones. To his Excellency they were convinced that this great event must be peculiarly pleasing; because, while at the head of the armies, urged by patriotic virtues and magnanimity, he persevered, under the pressure of every possible difficulty and discouragement, in the pursuit of the great objects of the war—the freedom and safety of his country;—his heart panted for the tranquil enjoyments of peace. They concluded with sincere prayers to God, long to bestow happiness to their commander, and that when he quits the stage of human life, he may receive from the

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UNERRING JUDGE, the rewards of valour exerted to save the oppressed, of patriotism and disinterested virtue.

On the 25th of November, 1783, New-York was evacuated by the British army; same day the American troops marched in, and took possession of the city; after which General Washington and the governor made their public entry. The arrangment and whole conduct of the march and the tranquility which succeeded it through the day and night, was admirable! and the grateful citizens, feeling the most affectionate impressions from the elegant and efficient disposition which prevailed through the whole event, on their returning from exile, addressed his excellency the commander in chief in behalf of themselves and their suffering brethren, looking up to him with unusual joy: they welcomed him to the city, long torn from them by the hand of oppression, but which by his wisdom, under the guidance of Providence, had again been rendered the seat of peace and freedom: they assured him that they should preserve, to the last, their gratitude for his services and veneration for his character, and required him "to accept their sincere and earnest wishes, that he may long enjoy that calm domestic felicity, which he had so generously sacrificed; that the cries of injured liberty may never more interrupt his repose; and that his happiness may be equal to his virtues."

Previous to General Washington's leaving New-

York, on the 6th of December, the principal officers of the army then in the city, assembled at Frances' tavern, to take a final leave of their illustrious and much-loved commander. The passions of human nature were never more tenderly agitated than in this interesting scene. His Excellency having filled a glass of wine, thus addressed his brave fellow-soldiers:—

"*With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you: I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be prosperous and happy, as your former ones have been glorious and honourable.*"

These words produced extreme sensibility on both sides: they were answered by warm expressions, and fervent wishes, from the gentlemen of the army, whose truly pathetic feelings, it is not in our power to convey to the reader. Soon after this scene was closed, the Governor, the council and citizens of the first distinction waited on the General, and in terms the most affectionate, took their leave—The corps of Light Infantry was drawn up in a line, and the Commander in Chief passed through them on his way to White-hall, where he embarked in his barge for Powles Hook, from whence he proceeded to Philadelphia, where he made a short stay. Here he delivered to the Comptroller of the public Treasury an account of the expenditure of all the public money which he had received during the war; by which it appeared, that the whole sum which had gone through his hands only amounted to fourteen thousand four

hundred and seventy-nine pounds, eighteen shillings and nine-pence sterling, about sixty-four thousand three hundred and fifty dollars, nearly one hundred and fifty dollars per week.

From Philadelphia he proceeded to Annapolis where the Congress was then sitting, and having obtained leave, he terminated his military career, and resigned his commission on the 23d of December: upon this occasion he delivered the following short and pathetic address, *viz.*

General Washington's Address

To Congress on the Resignation of his Commission.

"MR. PRESIDENT,

"THE great events, on which my resignation depended, having at length taken place, I have now the honour of offering my sincere congratulations to Congress, and of presenting myself before them, to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country.

"Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States of becoming a respectable nation—I resign, with satisfaction, the appointment I accepted with diffidence, a diffidence in my ablities to accomplish so arduous a task, which, however, was superceded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the su-

preme power of the union, and the patronage of Heaven.

"The successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations; and my gratitude for the interposition of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increases with every review of the momentous contest.

"While I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings not to acknowledge, in this place, the peculiar services and distinguished merits of the gentlemen who have been attached to my person during the war. It was impossible the choice of confident and officers to compose my family should be more fortunate; permit me, sir, to recommend in particular those who have continued in the service to the present moment, as worthy the favourable notice and patronage of Congress.

"I consider it as an indispensable duty to close this last solemn act of my official life, by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendance of them to his holy keeping.

"Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action: and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life.

G. WASHINGTON."

City of Annapolis, Dec. 23, 1783.

Answer of Congress.

"SIR,

"THE United States in Congress assembled, receive, with emotions too affecting for utterance, the solemn resignation of the authorities under which you have led their troops with success, through a perilous and doubtful war.

"Called upon by your country to defend its invaded rights, you accepted the sacred charge before it had formed alliances, and whilst it was without funds or a government to support you.

"You have conducted the great military contest with wisdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the civil power, through all disasters and changes; you have, by the love and confidence of your fellow-citizens, enabled them to display their martial genius, and transmit their fame to posterity; you have persevered, till these United States, aided by a magnanimous king and nation, have been enabled under a just Providence, to close the war in freedom, safety and independence; on which happy event, we sincerely join you in congratulations.

"Having defended the standard of liberty in this new world—having taught a lesson useful to those who inflict, and to those who feel oppression—you retire from the great theatre of action, with the blessings of your fellow-citizens; but the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command; it will continue to animate remo-

test ages. We feel, with you, our obligations to the army in general, and will particularly charge ourselves with the interests of those confidential officers, who have attended your person to this affecting moment.

"We join you in commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, beseeching him to dispose the hearts and minds of its citizens to improve the opportunity afforded them of becoming a happy and respectable nation; and for you, we address to him our earnest prayers, that a life so beloved may be fostered with all his care; that your days may be happy as they have been illustrious; and that he will finally give you that reward which this world cannot give."

With these becoming sentiments, General Washing on retired from the toils of war to enjoy in private the rural pleasures of Mount Vernon, carrying with him the thanks and blessings of a grateful people, emulating the example of the virtuous Roman General,* who, victorious, left the tented field, covered with honor, and withdrew from public life.

No person, who had not the advantage of being present when he received the intelligence of peace, and who did not accompany him to his domestic retirement, can describe the relief which that joyful event brought to his labouring mind, or the supreme satisfaction with which he withdrew to

* Cincinnatus.

private life. From his triumphal entry into New-York, upon the evacuation of that city by the British army, to his arrival at Mount Vernon, after the resignation of his commission to Congress, festive crowds impeded his passage through all the populous towns: the devotion of the whole people pursued him, with prayers to Heaven for blessings on his head, while their gratitude sought the most expressive language of manifesting itself to him as their common father and benefactor. When he became a private citizen he had the unusual felicity to find that his native state was among the most zealous in doing justice to his merits; and that stronger demonstrations of affectionate esteem (if possible) were given by the citizens of his neighbourhood, than by any other description of men on the continent. As he always refused to accept of any pecuniary compensation for his public services, or provision for the augmented expenses which he must have incurred in consequence of his public employment, no salary was ever annexed by Congress to his important command, and he only drew weekly for the expenses of his public table and other necessary demands, although proposals have been made in the most delicate manner, particularly by the states of Virginia and Pennsylvania. His conduct in this particular is noble and magnanimous, and exhibits to the world an undeniable evidence of self disinterestedness, of the purity of his motives and integrity of his heart. His answer to the Governor of Virginia, declining the so-

ceptance of a present from that state, is so characteristic of his whole public conduct, that we are induced to give it in his own words, and we are convinced it will prove acceptable to his admirers.

LETTER

From his Excellency General Washington, to the Governor of Virginia, declining the acceptance of fifty shares in the companies for opening the navigation of James and Potomac rivers, which had been vested in him by act of the Legislature of that commonwealth, as a small acknowledgment of his merits and services.

"Your Excellency having been pleased to transmit to me a copy of the act appropriating to my benefit, certain shares in the companies for opening the navigation of James and Potomac rivers, I take the liberty of returning to the assembly, through your hands, the profound and grateful acknowledgments, inspired by so signal a mark of their beneficent intentions towards me. I beg you, sir, to assure them, that I am filled on this occasion with every sentiment which can flow from a heart, warm with love for my country—sensible to every token of its approbation and affection, and solicitous to testify, in every instance, a respectful submission to its wishes. With these sentiments in my bosom, I need not dwell on the anxiety I

feel, in being obliged in this instance to decline a favor, which is rendered no less flattering by the manner in which it is conveyed, than it is affectionate in itself. In explaining this obligation, I pass over a comparison of my endeavors in the public service, with the many honourable testimonies of approbation which have already so far over-rated and over paid them—reciting one consideration only, which supercedes the necessity of recurring to every other. When I was first called to the station with which I was honoured during the late conflict for our liberties; to the diffidence which I had so many reasons to feel in accepting it, I thought it my duty to join A FIRM RESOLUTION TO SHUT MY HAND AGAINST EVERY PECUNIARY RECOMPENCE. To this resolution I have inviolably adhered; and from this resolution (if I had the inclination) I do not consider myself at liberty to depart. Whilst I repeat, therefore, my fervent acknowledgments to the legislature for their very kind sentiments and intentions in my favour, and at the same time beg them to be persuaded that a remembrance of this singular proof of goodness towards me, will never cease to cherish returns of the warmest affection and gratitude; I must pray that their act, so far as it has for its object my personal emolument, may not have its effect. But if it should please the general assembly to permit me to turn the destination of the fund vested in me from my private emolument to objects of a public nature, it will be my study, in selecting these, to prove

the sincerity of my gratitude, by preferring such as may appear most subservient to the enlightened and patriotic views of the legislature.

I am, &c.

GEORGE WASHINGTON."

Upon this request, the legislature of Virginia repealed so much of the act referred to as related to the vesting the above-mentioned shares in General Washington and heirs, and enacted that the shares and profits accruing therefrom, should stand appropriated to such objects of a public nature as his Excellency should direct and appoint. Sometime afterwards, General Washington applied these shares of the canal company to the erection and establishment of two seminaries of learning in Virginia, which were accomplished under his immediate direction.

Although the enlarged mind of General Washington felt superior to such considerations, and nobly refused any recompence for himself, yet he eloquently, though unsuccessfully, pleaded the cause of his fellow-soldiers, and other public creditors. He considered himself as pledged to the army that their country would do them ample justice, in rewarding them for their glorious services, exercised in its defence, and finally crowned by the complete establishment of its liberty and independence. He could foresee the evils which were to follow if a regular and efficient revenue system was not pursued :—To effect these purposes, and to inculcate the necessity of union, justice, subordination, and

of such principles and practices as the new situation of his country required, he published his parting advice to his countrymen, in the following eloquent circular letter, addressed to the governors of the individual states, viz.

A CIRCULAR LETTER

From his Excellency General George Washington, Commander in Chief of the Armies of the United States of America, to the Governors of the several States.

SIR,

THE great object for which I had the honor to hold an appointment in the service of my country, being accomplished, I am now preparing to resign it into the hands of Congress, and return to that domestic retirement, which, it is well known, I left with the greatest reluctance; a retirement for which I have never ceased to sigh through a long and painful absence, in which (remote from the noise and trouble of the world) I meditate to pass the remainder of life in a state of undisturbed repose: but, before I carry this resolution into effect, I think it a duty incumbent on me to make this my last official communication, to congratulate you on the glorious events which Heaven has been pleased to produce in our favor, to offer my sentiments respecting some important subjects, which appear to me to be intimately connected with the tranquillity of the United States, to take my leave of your Excellency as a public character,

and to give my final blessing to that country in whose service I have spent the prime of my life; for whose sake I have consumed so many anxious days and watchful nights: and whose happiness, being extremely dear to me, will always constitute no inconsiderable part of my own.

Impressed with the liveliest sensibility on this pleasing occasion, I will claim the indulgence of dilating the more copiously on the subject of our mutual felicitation. When we consider the magnitude of the prize we contended for, the doubtful nature of the contest, and the favourable manner in which it has terminated; we shall find the greatest possible reason for gratitude and rejoicing: this is a theme that will afford infinite delight to every benevolent and liberal mind, whether the event in contemplation be considered as a source of present enjoyment, or the parent of future happiness; and we shall have equal occasion to felicitate ourselves on the lot which Providence has assigned us, whether we view it in a natural, a political, or moral point of view.

The citizens of America, placed in the most enviable condition, as the sole lords and proprietors of a vast tract of continent, comprehending all the various soils and climates of the world, and abounding with all the necessaries and conveniencies of life, are now, by the late satisfactory pacification, acknowledged to be possessed of absolute freedom and independency; they are from this period to be considered as the actors on a most conspicuous theatre, which seems to be peculiarly designed by

Providence for the display of human greatness and felicity; here they are not only surrounded with every thing that can contribute to the completion of private and domestic enjoyment, but Heaven has crowned all its other blessings, by giving a surer opportunity for political happiness than any other nation has ever been favored with. Nothing can illustrate these observations more forcibly than the recollection of the happy conjuncture of times and circumstances, under which our Republic assumed its rank among the nations. The foundation of our empire was not laid in a gloomy age of ignorance and superstition, but at an epocha when the rights of mankind were bettter understood and more clearly defined, than at any former period: researches of the human mind after social happiness have been carried to a great extent: the treasures of knowledge acquired by the labours of philosophers, sages and legislators, through a long succession of years, are laid open for use, and their collected wisdom may be happily applied in the establishment of our forms of government: the free cultivation of letters, the unbounded extension of commerce, the progressive refinement of manners, the growing liberality of sentiment, and above all, the pure and benign light of revelation, have had a meliorating influence on mankind, and increased the blessings of society. At this auspicious period the United States came into existence as a nation, and if her citizens should not be completely free and happy, the fault will be entirely their own.

Such is our situation, and such are our pros-

pects: but notwithstanding the cup of blessing is thus reached out to us—notwithstanding happiness is ours, if we have a disposition to seize the occasion, and make it our own; yet it appears to me, there is an option still left to the United States of America, whether they will be respectable and prosperous, or contemptible and miserable as a nation. This is the time of their political probation; this is the moment, when the eyes of the world are turned upon them; this is the time to establish or ruin their national character forever; this is the favourable moment to give such a tone to the Federal Government, as will enable it to answer the ends of its institution; or this may be the ill-fated moment for relaxing the powers of the Union, annihilating the cement of the Confederation, and exposing us to become the sport of European politics, which may play one State against another, to prevent their growing importance, and to serve their own interested purposes. For, according to the system of policy the States shall adopt at this moment, they will stand or fall; and, by their confirmation or lapse, it is yet to be decided, whether the revolution must ultimately be considered as a blessing or a curse, a blessing or a curse, not to the present age alone, for with our fate will the destiny of unborn millions be involved.

With this conviction of the importance of the present crisis, silence in me would be a crime. I will therefore speak to your Excellency the language of freedom and sincerity, without disguise. I am aware, however, those who differ from me

in political sentiments, may perhaps remark I am stepping out of the proper line of my duty; and they may possibly ascribe to arrogance or ostentation, what I know is the result of the purest intention; but the rectitude of my own heart, which disdains such unworthy motives—the part I have hitherto acted in life—the determination I have formed of not taking any share in public business hereafter—the ardent desire I feel and shall continue to manifest, of quietly enjoying in private life, after all the toils of war, the benefits of a wise and liberal government—will, I flatter myself, sooner or later, convince my countrymen, that I could have no sinister views in delivering, with so little reserve, the opinions contained in this Address.

There are four things which I humbly conceive are essential to the well-being, I may even venture to say to the existence of the United States, as an independent power.

1st. An indissoluble union of the states under one federal head.

2dly. A sacred regard to public justice.

3dly. The adoption of a proper peace establishment. And,

4thly. The prevalence of that pacific and friendly disposition among the people of the United States, which will induce them to forget their local prejudices and policies, to make those mutual concessions which are requisite to the general prosperity, and, in some instances, to sacrifice their in-

dividual advantages to the interest of the community.

These are the pillars on which the glorious fabric of our independency and national character must be supported. Liberty is the basis, and whoever would dare to sap the foundation, or overturn the structure, under whatever specious pretext he may attempt it, will merit the bitterest execration and the severest punishment which can be inflicted by his injured country.

On the three first articles I will make a few observations, leaving the last to the good sense and serious consideration of those immediately concerned.

Under the first head, although it may not be necessary or proper for me, in this place, to enter into a particular disquisition of the principles of the union, and to take up the great question which has been frequently agitated, whether it be expedient and requisite for the states to delegate a large proportion of power to Congress, or not; yet it will be a part of my duty, and that of every true patriot, to assert, without reserve, and to insist upon the following positions. That unless the states will suffer Congress to exercise those prerogatives they are undoubtedly invested with by the constitution, every thing must very rapidly tend to anarchy and confusion,—That it is indispensible to the happiness of the individual states, that there should be lodged, somewhere, a supreme power, to regulate and govern the general concerns of the confederated republic, without which the union

cannot be of long duration.—That there must be a faithful and pointed compliance on the part of every state, with the late proposals and demands of Congress, or the most fatal consequences will ensue.—That whatever measures have a tendency to dissolve the union, or contribute to violate or lessen the sovereign authority, ought to be considered as hostile to the liberty and independency of America, and the authors of them treated accordingly.—And lastly, that unless we can be enabled by the concurrence of the States to participate of the fruits of the revolution, and enjoy the essential benefits of civil society, under a form of government so free and uncorrupted, so happily guarded against the danger of oppression, as has been devised and adopted by the articles of confederation, it will be a subject of regret, that so much blood and treasure have been lavished for no purpose; that so many sufferings have been encountered without a compensation, and that so many sacrifices have been made in vain. Many other considerations might here be adduced to prove, that without an entire conformity to the spirit of the Union, we cannot exist as an independent power. It will be sufficient for my purpose to mention but one or two, which seem to me of the greatest importance. It is only in our united character, as an empire, that our independence is acknowledged that our power can be regarded, or our credit supported among foreign nations. The treaties of the European powers with the United States of America, will have no validity on the

dissolution of the Union. We shall be left nearly in a state of nature; or we may find, by our own unhappy experience, that there is a natural and necessary progression from the extreme of anarchy to the extreme of tyranny; and that arbitrary power is most easily established on the ruins of liberty abused to licentiousness.

As to the second article, which respects the performance of public justice, Congress have, in their late Address to the United States, almost exhausted the subject; they have explained their ideas so fully, and have enforced the obligations the States are under to render complete justice to all the public creditors, with so much dignity and energy, that in my opinion, no real friend to the honour and independency of America can hesitate a single moment respecting the propriety of complying with the just and honorable measures proposed. If their arguments do not produce conviction, I know of nothing that will have greater influence, especially when we reflect that the system referred to, being the result of the collected wisdom of the continent, must be esteemed, if not perfect, certainly the least objectionable of any that could be devised; and that, if it should not be carried into immediate execution, a national bankruptcy, with all its deplorable consequences, will take place, before any different plan can possibly be proposed or adopted; so pressing are the present circumstances, and such is the alternative now offered to the States.

The ability of the country to discharge the

debts which have been incurred in its defence, is not to be doubted. An inclination, I flatter myself, will not be wanting; the path of our duty is plain before us; honesty will be found, on every experiment, to be the best and only true policy. Let us then, as a nation, be just; let us fulfil the public contracts which Congress had undoubtedly a right to make for the purpose of carrying on the war, with the same good faith we suppose ourselves bound to perform our private engagements. In the mean time let an attention to the cheerful performance of their proper business, as individuals, and as members of society, be earnestly inculcated on the citizens of America; then will they strengthen the bands of government, and be happy under its protection. Every one will reap the fruit of his labours; every one will enjoy his own acquisitions, without molestation and without danger.

In this state of absolute freedom and perfect security, who will grudge to yield a very little of his property to support the common interests of society, and ensure the protection of government? Who does not remember the frequent declarations at the commencement of the war, that we should be completely satisfied, if at the expence of one half, we could defend the remainder of our possessions? Where is the man to be found, who wishes to remain indebted for the defence of his own person and property to the exertions, the bravery, and the blood of others, without making one generous effort to pay the debt of honour and of gratitude? In what part of the continent shall we find

any man, or body of men, who would not blush to stand up, and propose measures purposely calculated to rob the soldier of his stipend, and the public creditor of his due? And were it possible that such a flagrant instance of injustice could ever happen, would it not excite the general indignation, and tend to bring down, upon the authors of such measures, the aggravated vengeance of Heaven? If after all, a spirit of disunion, or a temper of obstinacy and perverseness should manifest itself in any of the states; if such an ungracious disposition should attempt to frustrate all the happy effects that might be expected to flow from the union; if there should be a refusal to comply with the requisitions for funds to discharge the annual interest of the public debts, and if that refusal should revive all those jealousies, and produce all those evils which are now happily removed—Congress, who have, in all their transactions, shewn a great degree of magnanimity and justice, will stand justified in the sight of God and man! And that state alone, which puts itself in opposition to the aggregate wisdom of the continent, and follows such mistaken and pernicious counsels, will be responsible for all the consequences.

For my own part, conscious of having acted, while a servant of the public, in the manner I conceived best suited to promote the real interests of my country; having, in consequence of my fixed belief, in some measure, pledged myself to the army, that their country would finally do them complete and ample justice, and not willing to conceal

any instance of my official conduct from the eyes of the world, I have thought proper to transmit to your Excellency the enclosed collection of papers, relative to the half-pay and commutation granted by Congress to the officers of the army: from these communications, my decided sentiment will be clearly comprehended, together with the conclusive reasons, which induced me, at an early period, to recommend the adoption of this measure in the most earnest and serious manner. As the proceedings of Congress, the army, and myself, are open to all, and contain, in my opinion, sufficient information to remove the prejudice and errors which may have been entertained by any, I think it unnecessary to say any thing more, than just to observe, that the resolutions of Congress, now alluded to, are as undoubtedly and absolutely binding upon the United States, as the most solemn acts of confederation or legislation.

As to the idea, which, I am informed, has, in some instances prevailed, that the half-pay and commutation are to be regarded merely in the odious light of a pension, it ought to be exploded forever: that provision should be viewed, as it really was, a reasonable compensation offered by Congress, at a time when they had nothing else to give to officers of the army, for services then to be performed: it was the only means to prevent a total derilection of the services; it was a part of their hire. I may be allowed to say, it was the price of their blood, and of your independency; it is therefore more than a common debt, it is a debt

of honour; it can never be considered as a pension or gratuity, nor cancelled until it is fairly discharged.

With regard to the distinction between officers and soldiers, it is sufficient that the uniform experience of every nation of the world, combined with our own, proves the utility and propriety of the discrimination. Rewards, in proportion to the aid the public draws from them, are unquestionably due to all its servants. In some lines the soldiers have, perhaps, generally, had as ample compensation for their services, by the large bounties which have been paid them, as their officers will receive in the proposed commutation; in others, if besides the donation of land, the payment of arrearages of clothing and wages (in which articles all the component parts of the army must be put upon the same footing) we take into the estimate, the bounties many of the soldiers have received, and the gratuity of one year's full pay, which is promised to all, possibly their situation (every circumstance being duly considered) will not be deemed less eligible than that of the officers.

Should a farther reward, however, be judged equitable, I will venture to assert, no man will enjoy greater satisfaction than myself, in an exemption from taxes for a limited time (which has been petitioned for in some instances) or any other adequate immunity or compensation granted to the brave defenders of their country's cause: but neither the adoption or rejection of this proposition will, in any manner affect, much less militate a-

gainst the act of Congress, by which they have offered five years full pay, in lieu of the half-pay folife, which had been before promised to the officersr of the army.

Before I conclude the subject on public justice, I cannot omit to mention the obligations this country is under to that meritorious class of veterans, the non-commissioned officers and privates, who have been discharged for inability, in consequence of the resolution of Congress, of the 23d of April, 1782, on an annual pension for life. Their peculiar sufferings, their singular merits and claims to that provision need only to be known, to interest the feelings of humanity in their behalf. Nothing but a punctual payment of their annual allowance can rescue them from the most complicated misery; and nothing could be a more melancholy and distressing sight, than to behold those who have shed their blood, or lost their limbs in the service of their country, without a shelter, without a friend, and without the means of obtaining any of the comforts or necessaries of life, compelled to beg their daily bread from door to door. Suffer me to recommend those of this description belonging to your state, to the warmest patronage of your Excellency and your legislature.

It is necessary to say but a few words on the third topic which was proposed, and which regards particularly the defence of the republic. As there can be little doubt but Congress will recommend a proper peace establishment for the United States, in which a due attention will be paid to

the importance of placing the militia of the union upon a regular and respectable footing; if this should be the case, I should beg leave to urge the great advantage of it in the strongest terms.

The militia of this country must be considered as the palladium of our security, and the first effectual resort in case of hostility: it is essential, therefore, that the same system should pervade the whole; that the formation and discipline of the militia of the continent should be absolutely uniform; and that the same species of arms, accoutrements, and military apparratus, should be introduced in every part of the United States. No one, who has not learned it from experience, can conceive the difficulty, expense, and confusion which result from a contrary system, or the vague arrangements which have hitherto prevailed.

If, in treating of political points, a greater latitude than usual has been taken in the course of the Address, the importance of the crisis, and the magnitude of the objects in discussion, must be my apology: It is however, neither my wish nor expectation, that the preceding observations should claim any regard, except so far as they shall appear to be dictated by a good intention; consonant to the immutable rules of justice; calculated to produce a liberal system of policy, and founded on whatever experience may have been acquired by a long and close attention to public business. Here I might speak with more confidence, from my actual observations; and if it would not swell this letter (already too prolix) beyond the bounds I

had prescribed to myself, I could demonstrate to every mind, open to conviction, that in less time, and with much less expense than has been incurred, the war might have been brought to the same happy conclusion, if the resources of the continent could have been properly called forth; that the distresses and disappointments which have very often occurred, have, in too many instances, resulted more from a want of energy in the continental government, than a deficiency of means in the particular States: That the inefficacy of the measures, arising from the want of an adequate authority in the supreme power, from a partial compliance with the requisitions of Congress in some of the States, and from a failure of punctuality in others, while they tended to damp the zeal of those who were more willing to exert themselves, served also to accumulate the expenses of the war, and to frustrate the best concerted plans; and that the discouragement occasioned by the complicated difficulties and embarrassments, in which our affairs were by this means involved, would have long ago produced the dissolution of any army, less patient, less virtuous, and less persevering than that which I have had the honour to command. But while I mention those things, which are notorious facts, as the defects of our Federal Constitution, particularly in the prosecution of a war, I beg it may be understood, hat as I have ever taken a pleasure in gratefully acknowledging the assistance and support I have derived from every class of citizens; so shall I always be happy to do justice to the unparrallel-

ed exertions of the individual States, on many interesting occasions.

I have thus freely disclosed what I wished to make known before I surrendered up my public trust to those who committed it to me: The task is now accomplished. I now bid adieu to your Excellency, as the Chief Magistrate of your State; at the same time I bid a last farewell to the cares of office, and all the employments of public life.

It remains, then, to be my final and only request, that your Excellency will communicate these sentiments to your legislature, at their next meeting; and that they may be considered as the legacy of one who has ardently wished, on all occasions, to be useful to his country, and who, even in the shade of retirement, will not fail to implore the Divine benediction upon it.

I now make it my earnest prayer, that God would have you, and the State over which you preside, in his holy protection; that he would incline the hearts of the citizens to cultivate a spirit of subordination and obedience to government; to entertain a brotherly affection and love for one another, for their fellow-citizens of the United States at large; and particularly for their brethren who have served in the field; and finally, that he would most graciously be pleased to dispose us all to do justice, to love mercy, and to demean ourselves with that charity, humility, and pacific temper of the mind, which were the characteristics of the Divine author of our blessed religion; without an

humble imitation of whose example in these things, we can never hope to be a happy nation.

I have the honour to be, with much esteem and respect, Sir, your Excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

General Washington having retired from all public employment, now assumed the character of a private gentleman; he employed himself in improving his farms and plantation, and in cultivating the arts of peace. But in this retreat of happiness and rural simplicity he was not suffered long to remain; it was too soon for the *father of America* to leave his infant care, his well tried virtues were generally and justly known to his fellow-citizens, and their confidence in his judgment, experience and disinterested patriotism, was universal even to enthusiasm. Four years had not expired from the period at which he resigned his military command, when the voice of his country again called him to its service—in the year 1787, he was elected a delegate to the federal convention which met at Philadelphia to form the new constitution, and was chosen president thereof.—Whatever difference of sentiment there might have been amongst the citizens with regard to the principle, structure, or adoption of the new constitution, there appeared but one sentiment as to the man who should sit at the helm of its administration. General Washington, after the adoption of the federal constitution, was, on the 6th of April,

1789, unanimously elected President of the United States—whereupon the citizens testified with becoming joy, their confidence and approbation at his appointment to the office of chief magistrate, and innumerable addresses reiterated his praise, from every part of the union.

His triumphal entry into Philadelphia on his way to New-York, the seat of government, to assume the duties of his important office, merit a minute description. Early on the morning of the 20th of April, his Excellency Thomas Mifflin, Esq.; governor of the state, the Hon. Richard Peters, Esq.; Speaker of the legislature of the State, the old city troop of horse, and another troop from the city, commanded by captain Bingham, waited the arrival of their beloved *Washington*, at the line between the states of Pennsylvania and Delaware, to which place they had proceeded on the evening before.

After paying him the tribute of military honor due to his rank and exalted character, by proper salutes and otherwise, they escorted him into Chester, where they breakfasted, and rested a couple of hours.

This great and worthy man, finding he could not possibly elude the parade which necessarily must attend manifestations of joy and affection, when displayed by a grateful people, to their patriot benefactor, ordered his carriages into the rear of the whole line, and mounted an elegant horse, accompanied by the venerable patriot, Charles Thompson, Esq. and his former aid-de-camp, the

celebrated Colonel Humphries; both of whom were also on horse-back.

On their way to the city, they were joined by detachments from the Chester and Philadelphia troops of horse, and also by a number of respectable citizens, at whose head was the worthy citizen and soldier, his Excellency Arthur St. Clair, Esq. governor of the Western Territory. Thus they proceeded to Gray's ferry, on Schuylkill; observing the strictest order and regularity during the march. But here such a scene presented itself, that even the pencil of a Raphael could not delineate.

The bridge was highly decorated with laurel and other evergreens, by Mr. Gray, the ingenious Mr. Peale, and others, and in such a style as to display uncommon taste in these gentlemen. At each end there were erected magnificent arches, composed of laurel, emblematical of the ancient triumphal arches, used by the Romans, and on each side of the bridge, a laurel shrubbery, which seemed to challenge even nature herself, for simplicity, ease and elegance. And as our beloved WASHINGTON passed the bridge, a lad beautifully ornamented with sprigs of laurel, assisted by certain machinery, let drop above the hero's head, unperceived by him, a civic crown of laurel. There was also a very elegant display of variegated flags on each side of the bridge, as well as other places, which alternately caught the eye, and filled the spectator's soul with admiration and delight.

But who can describe the heart-felt congratulations of more than twenty thousand free citizens,

who lined every fence, field, and avenue between the bridge and the city? The aged sire, the venerable matron, the blooming virgin, and the ruddy youth, were all emulous in their plaudits—nay, the lisping infant did not withhold its innocent smile of praise and approbation.

In short, all classes and description of citizens discovered (and they felt what they discovered) the most undisguised attachment and unbounded zeal for their dear chief, and I may add, under God, the Saviour of their country. Not all the pomp of majesty, not even imperial dignity itself, surrounded with its usual splendour and magnificence, could equal this interesting scene.

On approaching near the city, our illustrious chief was highly gratified with a further military display of infantry, and artillery who joined in the procession, and thousands of freemen, whose hearts burned with patriotic fire, also fell into the ranks, almost every square they marched, until the column swelled beyond credibility itself, and having conducted the man of their hearts to the city tavern, he was introduced to a very grand and plentiful banquet, which was prepared for him by the citizens. At dinner, thirteen patriotic toasts were drank. The pleasures and festivity of the day being over, they were succeeded by a handsome display of fire works in the evening; this may give a faint idea of this glorious procession, and of the universal joy which inspired every heart upon this interesting, this important occasion.

Having arrived at the seat of government he

delivered the following inaugural address to both houses of Congress, viz.

Inaugural Addreſs of the Preſident of the United States to both Houſes of Congreſs.

Gentlemen,

" Among the vicissitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties, than that, of which the notification was transmitted by your order, and received on the fourteenth day of the present month: on the one hand, I was summoned by my country whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest predeliction, and, in my flattering hopes, with an immutable decision, as the asylum of my declining years: a retreat which was rendered every day more necessary, as well as more dear to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in health, to the gradual waste committed on it by time. On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulties of the trust, to which the voice of my country called me, being sufficient to awaken in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens, a distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with despondence, one, who, inheriting inferior endowments from nature, and unpractised in the duties of civil administration, ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies. In this conflict of emotions, all

I dare aver, is that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance, by which it might be affected. All I dare hope, is that if, in executing this task, I have been too much swayed by a grateful remembrance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendant proof of the confidence of my fellow-citizens—and have thence too little consulted my incapacity as well as disinclination for the weighty and untried cares before me—my error will be palliated by the motives which mislead me, and its consequences be judged by my country, with some share of the partiality in which they originated.

"Such being the impressions under which I have, in obedience to the public summons, repaired to the present station—it would be peculiarly improper to omit in the first official act, my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being who rules over the universe, who presides in the councils of nations—and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that his benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States, a government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes: and may enable every instrument, employed in its administration, to execute with success the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the great Author of every public and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own, nor those of my fellow-citizens at large, less than either. No people can be

bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand, which conducts the affairs of men, more than the people of the United States. Every step, by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation, seems to have been distinguished by some tokens of providential agency. And in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their United government, the tranquil deliberations and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities, from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most governments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude, along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seem to presage. These reflections, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join me, I trust, in thinking, that there are none under the influence of which the proceedings of a new and free government can more auspiciously commence.

"By the article establishing the executive department, it is made the duty of the President "to recommend to your consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." The circumstances under which I now meet you, will acquit me from entering into that subject, farther than to refer to the great constitutional charter under which you are now assembled; and which in defining your powers, designates the objects to which your attention is to be given. It will be more consistent, with those circumstances, and far

more congenial with the feelings which actuate me, to substitute in place of a recommendation of particular measures, the tribute that is due to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism which adorn the characters selected to devise and to adopt them. In these qualifications, I behold the surest pledges, that as, on one side, no local prejudices or attachments—no separate views—nor party animosities, will mis-direct the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests: so, on another, that the foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality; and the pre-eminence of free government, be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens, and command the respect of the world. I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my country can inspire; since there is no truth more thoroughly established, than that there exists in the economy and course of nature, an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity: since we ought to be no less persuaded, that the propitious smiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right, which Heaven itself hath ordained; and since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican model of government, are justly considered as deep-

ly, perhaps as finally staked, on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people.

"Besides the ordinary objects submitted to your care, it will remain with your judgment to decide how far an exercise of the occasional power delegated by the fifth article of the constitution is rendered expedient at the present juncture, by the nature of objections which have been urged against the system, or by the degree of inquietude which has given birth to them. Instead of undertaking particular recommendations on this subject, in which I could be guided by no lights derived from official opportunities, I shall again give way to my entire confidence in your discernment and pursuit of the public good; for I assure myself that whilst you carefully avoid every altercation which might endanger the benefits of an united and effective government, or which ought to await the future lessons of experience; a reverence for the characteristic rights of freemen, and a regard for the public harmony, will sufficiently influence your deliberations on the question, how far the former can be more impregnably fortified, or the latter be safely and advantageously promoted.

"To the preceding observations, I have one to add, which will be most properly addressed to the House of Representatives. It concerns myself, and therefore will be as brief as possible. When I was first honoured with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty, required that I should renounce every pecun-

iary compensation. From this resolution I have in no instance departed. And being still under the impressions which produced it, I must decline, as inapplicable to myself, any share in the personal emoluments, which may be indispensably included in a permanent provision for the executive department; and must accordingly pray that the pecuniary estimates for the station in which I am placed, may, during my continuance in it, be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good may be thought to require.

"Having thus imparted to you my sentiments, as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, I shall take my present leave; but not without resorting once more to the benign Parent of the human race, in humble supplication, that since he has been pleased to favor the American people, with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquility, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity on a form of government, for the security of their union, and the advancement of their happiness; so his divine blessing may be equally conspicuous in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures on which the success of this government must depend.

G. WASHINGTON."

The first session of Congress, under the new constitution, continued their sittings from the 4th of March until the 29th of September, their attention was chiefly directed towards the establishment of

various regulations for the restoration of the public credit of the United States, and other objects of political economy. During the period of the session, the President resided at New-York, sanctioning the proceedings of the legislature, and otherwise organizing the federal government. Shortly after the rising of Congress, he made a tour to the states of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New-Hampshire, attended by Messrs. Lear and Jackson, his secretaries. In every part of the country through which he passed, the citizens embraced the opportunity of personally testifying their esteem and respect of the *man of their choice*, in whose character, whatever is great and good—whatever dignifies and adorns human nature, are so happily united. All that a grateful people could pay, was paid, whenever he approached a town or village, the roads were lined with citizens to hail him welcome—the military escorted him from place to place. Particularly to relate all the grateful testimonials which were paid him during this visit, is impossible from their number. If our limits would permit, a description of the manner in which he was received at Boston would be particularly interesting; nor can we specify the numerous congratulatory addresses which were presented him. But no particular circumstance gave him more pleasure, during his whole tour, than the plain and hearty manner in which Mr. Northey, the chairman of the selectmen at Salem received him. This gentleman is of the society of Friends, and when the President was presented to the selectmen, Mr. Northey, being covered,

took him by the hand said, "Friend Washington, we are glad to see thee, and in behalf of the inhabitants, bid thee a hearty welcome to Salem."

On his arrival at Newburyport, the following incident occurred, a poor old soldier named Cotton, who was with him in the memorable battle on the Ohio, when Braddock was defeated, roquested, and was admitted into the room where the President was—on the soldier's asking "*how Major Washington did?*" the President immediately recollected his person, and rising from his chair, took him by the hand, and tenderly enquired into the scenes of his life, and present circumstances, "I thank God," answered the soldier, "that I have an opportunity of seeing my old commander once more, I have seen him in adversity, and now seeing him in glory, I can go home and die contented." The next morning, he came again to take leave of the President, who gave him a guinea, which he accepted he said, "merely as a token in remembrance of his commander," and which he wore pendent on his bosom, declaring that nothing earthly should separate it from him.

While General Washington was President of the United States, the following circumstance, which does honour to his humanity, occurred. One Reuben Rouzy, of Virginia, owed him about a thousand pounds; one of the President's agents brought a suit for the money, judgment was obtained, and execution issued against the body of the defendant, who was taken to goal. He had a considerable landed property, but this kind of property,

cannot be sold in Virginia for debts, unless at the discretion of the person. He had a large family, and preferred lying in goal to selling his lands, for the sake of his children.—Some of his acquaintance hinted to him, that probably General Washington did not know any thing of the proceeding, and it might be well to send him a petition, with a statement of the circumstances. He did so, and the very next post from Philadelphia, after his petition arrived, brought him a releasement, with a severe *reprimand* on the agent for acting in such a cruel manner, without consent. Poor Rouzy was, in consequence, restored to his family and happiness, who never laid down their head at night, without offering their prayers to Heaven for our *much beloved* WASHINGTON.

On the 4th day of January, 1790, Congress held their second session at New-York. The President opened it with a speech; he congratulated them on the favorable prospects which the public affairs then assumed; the accession of the state of North-Carolina to the Union, the rising credit and respectability of the country, and the concord, peace and plenty with which they were blessed: he directed their attention towards the making provision for the common defence, assuring them that "to be prepared for war, is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace, and that a free people ought not only to be armed but disciplined;" he recommended the protection of the Western and Southern frontiers against the depredations of the hostile Indians; the establishment of intercourse

with other nations; the framing of an uniform law for the naturalization of foreigners; the importance of uniformity in the currency, weights and measures throughout the Union; the advancement of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures; the encouragement of exertions of skill, and genius, and to facilitate the intercourse between the distant parts of the country, by a due attention to the post-office and post-roads. He particularly recommended the promotion of science and literature, as the surest basis of public happiness, and best means of securing a free constitution, by teaching the people to know and to value their rights, to discern and provide against innovations of them, to distinguish between oppression and the necessary exercise of lawful authority, to discriminate the spirit of liberty from that of licentiousness, cherishing the first, avoiding the last, and uniting a speedy but temperate vigilance against encroachments, with an inviolable respect to the laws. He informed them that he had directed the papers and estimates to be laid before them, which were necessary to convey to them, that information of the state of the Union, which it was his duty to afford. He concluded by assuring them, that "He should derive great satisfaction, from a co-operation with them, in the pleasing, though arduous task, of ensuring to their fellow citizens the blessings which they have a right to expect from a free, efficient government."

This session continued their sittings until the 12th of August following; in that month the Pre-

sident negociated a treaty of peace and friendship between the United States and the Creek nation of Indians; the ceremony took place at New-York, on the 30th of September. The same year General Harmar, with 320 United States troops and 1133 militia, gave battle to the Miami Indians, by whom he was defeated with the loss of 183 men killed, and 31 wounded; about 100 or upwards of the Indians were killed. The Miami village, containing about 100 log houses, or wigwams, with 20,000 bushels of corn, was destroyed.

The third session of Congress met on the 6th of December, 1790, and rose on the 3d of March following; their deliberations were chiefly directed towards the regulation of commerce, further improvement of the judicial system, and making provision for the appointment of consuls in foreign countries. The state of Kentucky was admitted into the union as a distinct state, and a loan was negotiated with the states of Holland.

The Indian war continued on the frontier of the states. During the summer of 1791, General Scott surprised the Wabash towns; he killed about 30 Indians, took 50 prisoners, and brought with him 200 horses, loaded with peltry and other articles of plunder, with the loss of three men only. The attention of the President during the period of this Congress, was chiefly directed towards the adoption of measures for the protection of the frontiers, and establishment of commerce.

On the 24th of October, 1791, the second Congress commenced their first session: the President,

as usual, opened the session by a speech to both houses; he began by remarking the abundance of the preceding harvest, the progressive state of agriculture, manufactures, commerce and navigation, and the general and happy effects which had been produced by the revival of public and private confidence, to which the laws of the United States had so eminently contributed. He mentioned the plan laid down for conciliating the friendship of the Indians; the basis of which was a strict adherance to the dictates of justice and humanity. The act for laying a duty on distilled spirits, had been, he said, attended with some difficulty, from the want of experience in the federal government, to make the proper arrangements, and, in some parts of the union, there had been a misconception of its provisions; but he entertained no doubt that the discontent produced from it would be removed by a proper explanation of the law. The President next observed, that, agreeable to several acts on that subject, a district of ten miles square, for the permanent seat of the government of the United States, had been fixed upon and announced by proclamation; that the district comprehended lands on both sides of the Potomac, and the towns of Alexandria and George-town; that a city had accordingly been laid out, and that there was every reason to expect a due progress in the buildings. —He also informed the two houses that a census of the inhabitants of the United States, had been almost completed, and afforded the pleasing assurance that the present population bordered upon

four millions of persons; that a further loan of two millions and an half of florins had been completed in Holland, upon terms similar to the last, and that another loan for six millions of florins had been set on foot. He concluded by recommending to their particular attention, the supporting of the militia on an effective plan; the administration of the post-office, the extention and improvements of the post-roads, the necessity for a public mint, an uniformity of weights and measures, and a provision for the sale of the vacant lands of the United States.

This session continued their deliberations, until the 8th of May, 1892, when they adjourned till the first Monday of November following. During their session and adjournment, there was no remarkable or important event; a serious of massacres, were, as formerly, committed on the frontiers; the hopes expressed by the President, of being able to accommodate the disputes with the Indians, did not prove successful. On the 4th of November, 1791, the United States army, under the command of General St Clair, was attacked by surprize, within fifteen miles of the Miami village; the contest lasted for four hours, when the Indians became victorious, the retreat of the Americans was accomplished with the loss of 46 officers, 600 privates, eight pieces of artillery and their whole baggage. In this battle it is said that 1200 Canadians fought under the disguise of Indians. The attention of the Executive, during this period, was also engaged in devising modes to

reconcile the citizens in some districts of the union, to the law, enacted for the purpose of collecting a certain duty on spirits, distilled within the United States, in some of the states, particularly the western parts of Pensylvania, where a regular and formidable opposition began to manifest itself, in consequence of which the special interposition of the President was deemed advisable. He issued a proclamation, recommending a compliance with the laws, and warning the citizens against all unlawful proceedings and combinations, having a tendency to obstruct the same.

The second Congress met again in November, 1792. The President opened the session with a speech, the greatest part of which respected the unfortunate endeavors to terminate the Indian hostilities. He informed Congress of the opposition which had been manifested to the excise law, and recommended a revision of the judiciary system. He further observed that three loans had been negociated for the use of the United States, one at Antwerp, and two at Amsterdam, each for three millions of florins, on very reasonable terms, which afforded a pleasing evidence of the increasing credit of the new government. On the 2d of March, 793, this session adjourned.

Heretofore the prosperity of the United States met with little or no interruption, except from the hostilities of the Indians. The attention of the Executive was chiefly directed to the establishment of those measures which the organization of the infant republic rendered neces-

sary. The extension of commerce and the disputes of the European powers, rendered it necessary for the United States to send and receive ministers and agents, for the better regulation of affairs.

This necessary measure created troubles and perplexities hitherto unknown to the Executive of the United States. On the 8th of April, 1793, citizen Genet arrived at Charleston, as minister plenipotentiary from the executive of France to the President of the United States. On the 22d of the same month the President issued a proclamation enjoining the citizens of the United States to a strict neutrality, in the contest between the maritime powers, and threatening prosecution to all who should infringe the same. —The public approbation of this wise measure, for the preservation of the public tranquility, was manifested in numerous addresses to the President, thanking him in warm terms for his attention to the interest of the citizens; many, however, were offended at the measure, as they conceived that it implied a deficiency of respect and gratitude to the republic of France, to whom the United States were highly indebted for their independence. Genet arrived in Philldelphia, the seat of government, on the 17th of May. The conduct of this minister is, perhaps, unexampled in diplomatic history. It was not until the publication of the Proclamation of the President, enjoining neutrality, that the government first heard of his arrival, and even then, they were only informed through the medium of the news-papers, about a

fortnight after his arrival; instead of presenting his credentials to the President, he began to assume a conduct imprudent and unbecoming; he undertook to authorize the fitting out of armed vessels, he enlisted citizens and others, and gave commissions to cruise and commit hostilities against the vessels of England and other nations at war with France, but who were, at the same time, at peace with the United States. These vessels had actually taken prizes, brought them into American ports where the consuls of France held courts of admiralty, tried, condemned, and authorized their sale as legal prizes. These proceedings, in opposition to the peace of the United States, were instantly complained of by Mr. Hammond, the British minister; thus were the seeds of future controversy planted. The government of the United States interfered, and, in some cases, over-ruled the proceedings of both the British and French, as illegal; remonstrances were exhibited to the President, from both sides, which created a series of diplomatic correspondence. A new source of discontent, on the part of the French now arose; Genet demanded, with some abruptness, money from the treasury of the United States, in part payment of their debt to France, with which the American government found it inconvenient to comply. This state of diplomatic hostility could not be expected to hold out long without coming to a crisis. Accordingly, on the 16th of August, the President ordered Mr. Jefferson, the Secretary of State, to address a letter to Mr.

Morris, the American ambassador in France, soliciting the republic to recal their minister. In the mean time Citizen Duplaine, Vice-consul for the republic of France, in the port of Boston, having committed sundry encroachments on the laws of the United States, the President, in consequence thereof, suspended his powers.

The term for which General Washington was elected President having expired, he was again re-elected to the same office. On the 2d of December, 1793, the third Congress commenced their first session. The President, in his speech to both houses, expressed a respectful sense of the confidence that he enjoyed, in being again called, by the suffrage of his fellow-citizens, to the office of chief magistrate. He recited the measures which he had adopted to avoid a rupture with any of the powers at war, and to ensure to the citizens of the United States, the rights of neutrality. He further recommended to Congress, the necessity of placing the country in a state of defence; that while the United States fulfilled their duties to the rest of the world, they may likewise exact the fulfilment of the like duties towards them. He informed them of the means which had been pursued for concilliating the dispositions of the Indians, and recommended to Congress to make provision for the establishment of commerce with the Indian nations, as the best means of securing their interest, and rendering their tranquility permanent; he concluded by recommending a repeal of the tax on the

transportation of public prints, as they contained the best means of informing the minds, and securing the affections of their constituents; he afterwards, by a special message, informed the House of Representatives, "that although the government of the French nation, had generally manifested a friendly disposition to the United States, yet the person unfortunately appointed their minister plenipotentiary, had breathed nothing of the friendly disposition of the nation which sent him; his proceedings had uniformly tended to involve us in a war abroad, and discord and anarchy at home." He hoped that the French government would not long suffer the United States to remain exposed to the action of a person, who had so little respected the mutual dispositions of the two countries.

Soon after this period, this minister was recalled, his conduct having been unequivocally disapproved of. About this period the commerce of the United States began to suffer greatly, from the depredations of the British, under pretence of their being loaded with French property; it also suffered from the piracy of privateers, who, for the most part disclaiming justice altogether, seized both vessels and cargo, and disposed of the same for their own use; a considerable number of American vessels were likewise captured in the Western Ocean by the Algerine corsairs. These subjects were assumed by Congress, and many modes were proposed for the purpose of putting a stop to the unwar-

rantable excesses. A bill was passed, to provide a naval armament against the Algerines. On the 25th of March, a motion was made in the House of Representatives, assented to by the Senate, and signed by the President, laying an embargo for 30 days on all vessels bound to foreign ports; this embargo was afterwards continued until the 25th of May. The President was empowered to raise an additional corps of artillery-men, for the purpose of garrisoning the fortifications for the defence of the sea-coasts: he was also authorized to call on the executives of the different states, to take effectual measures for organizing 80,000 effective militia.

On the 19th of May, intelligence was received from the territory N. W. of the river Ohio, stating the hardships which the citizens of that territory sustained from the hostile disposition of the Cherokee Indians; the massacre of 200 people, and the loss of 2000 horses, formed a part of the list of their disasters. On the 20th of May, the President, by a message, informed the House of Representatives, that there had been some danger of hostilities against the territories of Spain, in the neighborhood of the United States; that the governor of Kentucky had indicated that he would make no exertions to prevent the expulsion of the Spaniards from the banks of the Mississippi, as he had found them a perfidious and worthless people, constantly exciting the Indians to murder the settlers in that quarter.

During this session of Congress, many important

laws were enacted. The act assigning to the Marquis de la Fayette, the sum of 24,424 dollars, for his services, during the war, being the pay of a major-general; and the act forbidding American citizens, or foreigners, residing in the United States, under severe penalties, from being concerned in the slave trade, does great honor to the legislature.—On the 9th of June, 1794, this session adjourned.

In 1794, during the recess of Congress, the attention of the President of the United States was called to suppress an insurrection, which began to assume a very formidable aspect. It was confined to the western parts of the State of Pennsylvania. The outlines of it are as follow, viz. During the year 1790, the Congress of the United States found it necessary "to lay and collect excises." This mode of taxation, discordant to the genius of the citizens, in many parts of the union, met with considerable opposition, which, however, was gradually banished by reason and patriotism, excepting the four western counties of Pennsylvania, where a prejudice still remained, and produced symptoms of riot and violence. The disaffection was at first vented in general complaints; certain associations were formed to prevent the operation of the laws, and the excise officers received some marks of contempt and rudeness. These association held public meetings, and published their resolutions. Besides the excise law, they censured several other acts of the federal government; as the exorbitant

salaries of office, the institution of a national bank, the interest of the public debt, &c.

On the 6th of September, 1791, the collector of the revenue for that district was seized by a party, armed, and in disguise; they tarred and feathered him, cut off his hair, and committed other acts of violence; legal process was therefore issued against the offenders, but the insurgents prevented the marshal from serving them; they fired upon him, arrested, and, for some time, detained him as a prisoner; a number of similar outrages were committed. The President, the ever watchful guardian of the constitution, beheld, with sorrow, these excesses; he sought and weighed what was best to be done in this momentous crisis; he beheld the judiciary stripped of its capacity to enforce the laws, and crimes, which reached to the very existence of social order, perpetrated without control; the friends of government insulted, and that constitution violated, which he had made a sacred vow to protect; he beheld with abhorrence the idea of "arraying citizen against citizen," until every lenient measure should be exhausted. He issued proclamations, exhorting the rioters to desist from such disorderly proceedings, he recommended obedience to the laws, he appointed commissioners to repair to the scene of insurrection, authorised them to repair to the scene of insurrection, authorized them to confer with the insurgents, to state to them his sensations, to assure them that it was his earnest wish to avoid a resort to coercion; he

even offered them pardon, on condition of receiving satisfactory assurance of obedience to the laws.

These lenient measures did not produce the good effects that should have been expected. The President therefore deemed it prudent to resort to military force.—Fifteen thousand militia were put in motion, their number intimidated the insurgents; thus the insurrection was quelled without the effusion of blood; some of the ringleaders were apprehended and brought to trial; one of them was found guilty of high treason and condemned to suffer, but was pardoned by the President.—Indeed, the same goodness of disposition actuated the President, from the beginning to the termination of this licentious invasion of the laws, notwithstanding there are in the United States, certain discontented, invidious individuals, who wish to stigmatize every act of the Executive with opprobium.

In November, 1794, the third Congress held their second session, at Philadelphia. The President began his speech with a history of the opposition which had been manifested to the constitution and laws of the United States, and of the means which he had pursued to suppress it; the alacrity which the militia, and others who volunteered their service displayed, exhibited, he said, "to the highest advantage, the value of republican government; to behold the most and least wealthy of our citizens, standing in the same ranks as private soldiers, pre-eminently distinguished by being

consist of: the order contained a limited exception in favor of Denmark and Sweden, but in the execution of it, the rights of America were entirely disregarded. This matter produced a diplomatic discussion between the ministers of the two countries, both at London and Philadelphia: Their correspondence produced a mutual wish on both sides to establish a treaty of commerce, and a friendly adjustment of all complaints. The President of the United States, accordingly nominated Mr. John Jay, chief judge of the United States, as an envoy extraordinary to the court of London. After a short passage, Mr. Jay arrived in London, where he met with a polite reception, and negociated the *Treaty of Peace, Commerce and Navigation*, which at present exists between the two countries.

The Treaty arrived in Philadelphia in March 1795; it was shortly after submitted to the Senate for their consent; they returned it to the President on the 24th of June, and advised the conditional ratification thereof. About the 30th of the same month it was submitted to the public through the medium of the news papers. It now became the general topic of conversation; it was placed in all the different points of view of which it was susceptible, and in many of which it could not admit.

It met with great opposition, addresses and resolutions were received from all the commercial towns of the union; some advising its ratification, others disapproving of it in *toto*. This opposition

was viewed by the President in a very serious light; he considered the subject and weighed all the arguments which had been advanced against it; his own opinion was not in favor of it, but he did not wish to differ from the Senate, and thought that it would be better to ratify it in the manner they had advised; to this measure he was also induced, as Mr. Jay had asserted "that no better terms could possibly be obtained; and that obstinacy in rejecting the settlement, might be serious." The President therefore assented, and ratifications were exchanged, with the suspension of the most objectionable article.

This transaction is perhaps the most unfortunate that occurred to his Excellency during the whole period of his Presidency. Those opposed to the treaty did not fail to load him with reproach; no stone was left unturned that could impress upon the minds of the citizens gross falsehoods; such as, that the treaty contained no reciprocal advantages, that the benefits were all on the side of Britain, that their rights were not only neglected, but absolutely sold, that it was made with the design of oppressing the French, and contrary to every principle of gratitude and sound policy.

The first session of the fourth Congress met at Philadelphia, in December, 1795. The President in a speech informed them that negociations were on foot for the adjustment of affairs with the hostile Indians, and also with the Dey and Regency of Algiers; that he had received assurances of a

speedy and satisfactory conclusion of the negociations with Spain; that with the advice of the Senate he had ratified a treaty with Britain, upon a condition which excepts part of one article. He recommended a review of the military establishment, and to make provision for garrisoning and securing the western posts which were to be delivered up by the British. He informed them that a state of the finance and appropriations necessary or the ensuing year would be laid before them, as also statements relative to the mint. progress in providing materials for building frigates, state of fortifications, and military magazines, &c. He concluded with a recommendation of temperate discussion and mutual forbearance in subjects where a difference of opinion may be apt to arise.

A warm and lengthy discussion took place in the House of Representatives relative to the British treaty. Both sides of the question were ably supported; few subjects had ever come before the House, upon which so many members delivered their sentiments. On the 24th of March, 1796, they came to a resolution, requesting the President to lay before the House, a copy of the instructions to Mr. Jay, together with his correspondence and other documents relative to that treaty. To which request, the President gave a positive refusal; he assured the House, that he had always endeavoured to harmonize with the other branches of government, and that he had never withheld any information which the constitution enjoined him to

give. But that the nature of foreign negociations required caution and secrecy, that all the papers relative thereto had been laid before the Senate, that the constitution empowered him to make treaties with the consent of that body, but that it would establish a dangerous precedent to admit a right in the House of Representatives to demand and have all papers respecting negociations with foreign powers, after the treaties were finally concluded and ratified, and the assent of that house not necessary to their validity.

We deem it unnecessary to enter into a history of the differences with the republic of France, as they are not yet terminated, and are so recent as to be generally remembered, suffice it to observe, that during the whole period in which General Washington sat at the helm of public affairs, his whole conduct has uniformly exhibited moderation and prudence, magnanimity and firmness, wisdom and virtue.

The period of General Washington's second election to the office of Chief Magistrate being nearly expired, he put on a determined resolution to retire from the public and enjoy his declining years in private life. Upon this momentous occasion, resigning a charge which he at first accepted through his enthusiasm for the principles of *rational liberty*, he was impressed with the purest wishes for the future happiness of that republic, which he had devoted the early, the mature, and a portion of his delining years to establish. And as a

testimony of pure regard, he published the following masterly address to his fellow-citizens.

ADDRESS

Of his Excellency GEORGE WASHINGTON, *Esq. President of the United States, announcing his intention of retiring from all public employment.*

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Friends and Fellow-Citizens,

THE period of a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived, when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person, who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation, which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my

situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been an uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped, that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives, which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement, from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice, that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty, or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only

say, that I have with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me, as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary; I have the consolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment, which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honours it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction,

were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging, in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism, the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows. That Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence; that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained; that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation, and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to applause, the affection and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplations, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which

appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad; of your safety, of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to forsee, that from different causes, and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union, to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual and immoveable

attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in an event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties, which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of *American*, which belongs to you, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discrimina ions. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together: the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint councils and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The North in an unrestrained intercourse with
s South, protected by the equal laws of a com-
on government, finds in the productions of the
ter, great additional resources of maritime and
mmercial enterprize and precious materials of
anufacturing industry. The South, in the same
tercourse, benefitting by the agency of the North,
s its agriculture grow, and its commerce ex-
nd. Turning partly into its own channels the
amen of the North, it finds its particular naviga-
on invigorated; and while it contributes in dif-
ent ways, to nourish and increase the general
ass of the national navigation, it looks forward
the protection of a maritime strength to which
elf is unequally adapted. The East, in a like in-
course with the West, already finds, and in the
ogressive improvement of interior communica-
ons, by land and water, will more and more find
valuable vent for the commodities which it
ings from abroad, or manufactures at home.—
he West derives from the East, supplies requisite
its growth and comfort; and what is perhaps
still greater consequence, it must of necessity
ve the *secure* enjoyment of indispensable *outlets* for
s own productions to the weight, influence, and
e future maritime strength of the Atlantic side
the Union, directed by an indissoluble commu-
ty of interest as one *nation*.—Any other tenure
which the West can hold this essential advan-
ge, whether derived from its own separate
rength, or from an apostate and unnatural con-

nexion with any foreign power, must be instrinsically precarious.

While then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in Union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreignn nations; and what is of inestimable value! they must derive from Union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries, not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments and intrigues would stimulate and embitter.—Hence likewise they will avoid the necessity of those over-grown military establishments, which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to Republican Liberty; in this sense, it is that your Union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the Union as a primary object of patriotic desire.—Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a

sphere?—Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. —We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective sub-divisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. 'Tis well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to Union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those, who, in any quarter, may endeavour to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our union, it occqrs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterising parties by *Geographical* discriminations, "*Northern* and *Southern*, *Atlantic* and *Western*;" whence designing men may endeavour to excite a belief, that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these misrepresentations: they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had an useful lesson on this head: they have seen, in the negociation by the executive, and in the

unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event, throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propogated among them, of the policy in the general government and in the Atlantic states unfriendly to their interests in regard to the *Mississippi*: they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great-Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the *Union* by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your union, a government for the whole is indispensable.—No alliances, however strict, between the parts, can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances, in all times, have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government better calculated than your former for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full inves-

tigation, and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting securing with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true *Liberty*. The basis of our political system is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitution of government; but, the constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with real design to direct, controul, counteract, or awe the regular deliberations and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force; to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public adminis-

tration the mirror of the ill concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely in the course of time and things to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon the principles however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect in the forms of the constitution alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and that to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard, by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facili-

ty changes upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interest, in a country far extensive as ours, a government of as much vigour as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty, is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is indeed little else than a name where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and so maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyments of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger o parties in the state, with a particular reference tof the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, generally.

The spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments more or less stifley, controuled, or repressed ; but in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over

another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissention, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism.—But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries, which generally result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual: and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealouses and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another; foments occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself, through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free coun-

tries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This, within certain limits, is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favour upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not be quenched; it demands an uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution, in those entrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of their powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into dif-

ferent depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern : some of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in a way which the constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation ; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil, any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, Religion and Morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labour to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connexions with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice ? And let us with caution in-

dulge the supposition. that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure ; reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

'Tis substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric.

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it, is to use it as sparingly as possible ; avoiding the occasions of expense by cultivating peace ; but remembering also, that timely disbursements to repel it ; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burthen which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these

Maxims belongs to your representatives; but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate.

To facilitate them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue: that to have revenue, there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised that are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects, (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive for candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for the spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigences may at any time dibtate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations: cultivate peace and harmony with all; religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be, that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt, that in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it?—Can it be that Providence has not connect-

ed the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature.—Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that in the place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another, disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and untractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur.

Hence, frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed and bloody contests.—The nation prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts, through passion, what reason would reject; at other times it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambi-

tion, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty of nations, has been the victim.

So likewise a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favourite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained; and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld: And it gives to ambitious, corrupted or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favourite nation) facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligations, and commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarm-

ing to the enlightened and independent patriot. —How many opportunities, do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the other.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake; since history and experience prove, that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy to be useful must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see the danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even to second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favourite, are liable to become sssspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connexion as possible. So far as we have already

formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith.—Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation.—Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations or collisions of her friendships, or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality, we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humour or caprice?

'Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances, with any portion of the foreign world: so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it: for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is necessary, and would be unwise, to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony and liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favours or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying, by gentle means, the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing, establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them; conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keep

ing in view, that 'tis folly in one nation to look for disinterested favours from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favours, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon real favours from nation to nation. 'Tis an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will controul the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations: But, if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompence for the solicitude of your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles that they have been delineated, the public records and oth-

evidences of my conduct must witness to you and the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793 is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice and by that of your Representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me; uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest, to take a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it, with moderation, perseverance and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligations which justice and humanity impose on

every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavour to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency, which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error: I am, nevertheless, too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. *Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.*

Relying on its kindness in this, as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man, who views in it the natural soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations; I anticipate, with pleasing expectation, that retreat, in

which I promise myself to realize, without alloy the sweet enjoyments of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government; the ever-favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward as I trust, of our mutual cares, labours and dangers.

G. WASHINGTON.

United States,

17th September, 1796.

On the 7th of December, 1796, President Washington delivered his last speech to the representatives of the people at the opening of the second session of the fourth Congress. We regret that our contracted limits will not permit of inserting it verbatim. In this address he communicates information respecting the measures taken for carrying into effect treaties with the Indian nations, Great Britain, Spain, and Algiers. He likewise informs, that measures are in operation for effecting treaties with the Regencies of Tunis and Tripoli. He wishes the United States to look to the means, and to set about the gradual creation of a navy; so that a future war of Europe may not find our commerce in the same unprotected state in which it was found by the present.

He then proceeds to recommend the establishment of certain branches of manufacture on pub-

lic account; *particularly those which are of a nature essential to the furnishing and equipping of the public force in time of war.*

He judiciously recommends the institution of a Board of Agriculture, composed of proper characters, charged with collecting and diffusing information, and enabled, by premiums and small pecuniary aids, to encourage and assist a spirit of discovery and improvement. Experience has proved this to be a cheap instrument of immense national benefit. He then recalls the attention of Congress, to a subject, he had before proposed to their consideration, the expediency of establishing a national university, and also a military academy. He points out as motives to the institution of a national university, the assimilation of the principles, opinions, and manners of our countrymen, by the common education of a portion of our youth from every quarter, and remarks that the more homogeneous our citizens can be made in these particulars, the greater will be the prospect of our permanent union: and that a primary object should be the education of our youth in the science of GOVERNMENT. In a republic, what species of knowledge can be equally important? and what duty can be more pressing on its Legislature, than to patronize a plan for communicating it to those who are to be the future guardians of the liberties of the country?

The institution of a military academy, he also observes, is recommended by cogent reasons.—However pacific, says he, the general policy of a nation may be, it ought never to be without an adequate stock of military knowledge, for emergencies.

The following important paragraph is verbatim: "The compensation to the officers of the United States, in various instances, and in none more than in respect to the most important stations, appear to call for legislative revision. The consequences of a defective provision are of serious import to the government. If private wealth is to supply the defect of public contribution, it will greatly contract the sphere, within which the selection of character for office is to be made, and will proportionably diminish the probability of a choice of men able, as well as upright. Besides, that it would be repugnant to the vital principles of our government, virtually to exclude from public trusts, talents and virtue, unless accompanied by wealth."

The President then expresses his regret at the unpleasant circumstances which have occured relative to the French republic; his ardent wish being to maintain cordial harmony, as far as is consistent with the rights and honour of our country.

The House of Representatives he informed, that the revenues of the United State continue in a state of progressive improvement; and are invited

to take such further measures as will ascertain, to our country, the speedy extinguishment of the public debt.

He then concluded his address to both Houses of Congress, in the following words: "My solicitude to see the militia of the United States placed on an efficient establishment, has been so often and so ardently expressed, that I shall but barely recal the subject to your view, on the present occasion at the same time, I shall submit to your enquiry, whether our harbours are yet sufficiently secured."

"The situation in which I now stand, for the last time, in the midst of the representatives of the people of the United States, naturally recalls the period, when the administration of the present form of government commenced; and I cannot omit the occasion to congratulate you, and my country, on the success of the experiment; nor to repeat my fervent prayer to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, and Sovereign Arbiter of Nations, that his providential care, may still be extended to the United States; that the virtue and happiness of the people may be preserved; and that the government which they have instituted for the protection of their liberties may be perpetual."

On Saturday the 4th o March, 1797, *John Adams*, Esq. who was elected the successor of *President Washington*, attended the Senate and Representives of the United States, and took his oath

humble imitation of whose example in these things, we can never hope to be a happy nation.

I have the honour to be, with much esteem and respect, Sir, your Excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

General Washington having retired from all public employment, now assumed the character of a private gentleman; he employed himself in improving his farms and plantation, and in cultivating the arts of peace. But in this retreat of happiness and rural simplicity he was not suffered long to remain; it was too soon for the *father of America* to leave his infant care, his well-tried virtues were generally and justly known to his fellow-citizens, and their confidence in his judgment, experience and disinterested patriotism, was universal even to enthusiasm. Four years had not expired from the period at which he resigned his military command, when the voice of his country again called him to its service—in the year 1787, he was elected a delegate to the federal convention which met at Philadelphia to form the new constitution, and was chosen president thereof.—Whatever difference of sentiment there might have been amongst the citizens with regard to the principle, structure, or adoption of the new constitution, there appeared but one sentiment as to the man who should sit at the helm of its administration. General Washington, after the adoption of the federal constitution, was, on the 6th of April,

1789, unanimously elected President of the United States—whereupon the citizens testified with becoming joy, their confidence and approbation at his appointment to the office of chief magistrate, and innumerable addresses reiterated his praise, from every part of the union.

His triumphal entry into Philadelphia on his way to New-York, the seat of government, to assume the duties of his important office, merit a minute description. Early on the morning of the 20th of April, his Excellency Thomas Mifflin, Esq.; governor of the state, the Hon. Richard Peters, Esq.; Speaker of the legislature of the State, the old city troop of horse, and another troop from the city, commanded by captain Bingham, waited the arrival of their beloved *Washington*, at the line between the states of Pennsylvania and Delaware, to which place they had proceeded on the evening before.

After paying him the tribute of military honor due to his rank and exalted character, by proper salutes and otherwise, they escorted him into Chester, where they breakfasted, and rested a couple of hours.

This great and worthy man, finding he could not possibly elude the parade which necessarily must attend manifestations of joy and affection, when displayed by a grateful people, to their patriot benefactor, ordered his carriages into the rear of the whole line, and mounted an elegant horse, accompanied by the venerable patriot, Charles Thompson, Esq. and his former aid-de-camp, the

celebrated Colonel Humphries; both of whom were also on horse-back.

On their way to the city, they were joined by detachments from the Chester and Philadelphia troops of horse, and also by a number of respectable citizens, at whose head was the worthy citizen and soldier, his Excellency Arthur St. Clair, Esq. governor of the Western Territory. Thus they proceeded to Gray's ferry, on Schuylkill; observing the strictest order and regularity during the march. But here such a scene presented itself, that even the pencil of a Raphael could not delineate.

The bridge was highly decorated with laurel and other evergreens, by Mr. Gray, the ingenious Mr. Peale, and others, and in such a style as to display uncommon taste in these gentlemen. At each end there were erected magnificent arches, composed of laurel, emblematical of the ancient triumphal arches, used by the Romans, and on each side of the bridge, a laurel shrubbery, which seemed to challenge even nature herself, for simplicity, ease and elegance. And as our beloved WASHINGTON passed the bridge, a lad beautifully ornamented with sprigs of laurel, assisted by certain machinery, let drop above the hero's head, unperceived by him, a civic crown of laurel. There was also a very elegant display of variegated flags on each side of the bridge, as well as other places, which alternately caught the eye, and filled the spectator's soul with admiration and delight.

But who can describe the heart-felt congratulations of more than twenty thousand free citizens,

who lined every fence, field, and avenue between the bridge and the city? The aged sire, the venerable matron, the blooming virgin, and the ruddy youth, were all emulous in their plaudits—nay, the lisping infant did not withhold its innocent smile of praise and approbation.

In short, all classes and description of citizens discovered (and they felt what they discovered) the most undisguised attachment and unbounded zeal for their dear chief, and I may add, under God, the Saviour of their country. Not all the pomp of majesty, not even imperial dignity itself, surrounded with its usual splendour and magnificence, could equal this interesting scene.

On approaching near the city, our illustrious chief was highly gratified with a further military display of infantry, and artillery who joined in the procession, and thousands of freemen, whose hearts burned with patriotic fire, also fell into the ranks, almost every square they marched, until the column swelled beyond credibility itself, and having conducted the man of their hearts to the city tavern, he was introduced to a very grand and plentiful banquet, which was prepared for him by the citizens. At dinner, thirteen patriotic toasts were drank. The pleasures and festivity of the day being over, they were succeeded by a handsome display of fire works in the evening; this may give a faint idea of this glorious procession, and of the universal joy which inspired every heart upon this interesting, this important occasion.

Having arrived at the seat of government he

delivered the following inaugural address to both houses of Congress, viz.

Inaugural Addreſs of the Preſident of the United States to both Houſes of Congreſs.

Gentlemen,

" Among the viciſſitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties, than that, of which the notification was transmitted by your order, and received on the fourteenth day of the preſent month: on the one hand, I was ſummoned by my country whoſe voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had choſen with the fondeſt predeliction, and, in my flattering hopes, with an immutable deciſion, as the aſylum of my declining years: a retreat which was rendered every day more neceſſary, as well as more dear to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in health, to the gradual waſte committed on it by time. On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulties of the truſt, to which the voice of my country called me, being ſufficient to awaken in the wiſeſt and moſt experienced of her citizens, a diſtruſtful ſcrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with deſpondence, one, who, inheriting inferior endowments from nature, and unpractiſed in the duties of civil adminiſtration, ought to be peculiarly conſcious of his own deficiencies. In this conflict of emotions, all

I dare aver, is that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance, by which it might be affected. All I dare hope, is that if, in executing this task, I have been too much swayed by a grateful remembrance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendant proof of the confidence of my fellow citizens—and have thence too little consulted my incapacity as well as disinclination for the weighty and untried cares before me—my error will be palliated by the motives which mislead me, and its consequences be judged by my country, with some share of the partiality in which they originated.

"Such being the impressions under which I have, in obedience to the public summons, repaired to the present station—it would be peculiarly improper to omit in the first official act, my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being who rules over the universe, who presides in the councils of nations—and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that his benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States, a government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes: and may enable every instrument, employed in its administration, to execute with success the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the great Author of every public and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own, nor those of my fellow-citizens at large, less than either. No people can be

bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand, which conducts the affairs of men, more than the people of the United States. Every step, by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation, seems to have been distinguished by some tokens of providential agency. And in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their United government, the tranquil deliberations and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities, from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most governments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude, along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seem to presage. These reflections, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join me, I trust, in thinking, that there are none under the influence of which the proceedings of a new and free government can more auspiciously commence.

"By the article establishing the executive department, it is made the duty of the President "to recommend to your consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." The circumstances under which I now meet you, will acquit me from entering into that subject, farther than to refer to the great constitutional charter under which you are now assembled; and which in defining your powers, designates the objects to which your attention is to be given. It will be more consistent, with those circumstances, and far

more congenial with the feelings which actuate me, to substitute in place of a recommendation of particular measures, the tribute that is due to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism which adorn the characters selected to devise and to adopt them. In these qualifications, I behold the surest pledges, that as, on one side, no local prejudices or attachments—no separate views—nor party animosities, will mis-direct the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests: so, on another, that the foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality; and the pre-eminence of free government, be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens, and command the respect of the world. I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my country can inspire; since there is no truth more thoroughly established, than that there exists in the economy and course of nature, an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity: since we ought to be no less persuaded, that the propitious smiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right, which Heaven itself hath ordained; and since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican model of government, are justly considered as deep-

ly, perhaps as finally staked, on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people.

"Besides the ordinary objects submitted to your care, it will remain with your judgment to decide how far an exercise of the occasional power delegated by the fifth article of the constitution is rendered expedient at the present juncture, by the nature of objections which have been urged against the system, or by the degree of inquietude which has given birth to them. Instead of undertaking particular recommendations on this subject, in which I could be guided by no lights derived from official opportunities, I shall again give way to my entire confidence in your discernment and pursuit of the public good; for I assure myself that whilst you carefully avoid every altercation which might endanger the benefits of an united and effective government, or which ought to await the future lessons of experience; a reverence for the characteristic rights of freemen, and a regard for the public harmony, will sufficiently influence your deliberations on the question, how far the former can be more impregnably fortified, or the latter be safely and advantageously promoted.

"To the preceding observations, I have one to add, which will be most properly addressed to the House of Representatives. It concerns myself, and therefore will be as brief as possible. When I was first honoured with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty, required that I should renounce every pecun-

iary compensation. From this resolution I have in no instance departed. And being still under the impressions which produced it, I must decline, as inapplicable to myself, any share in the personal emoluments, which may be indispensably included in a permanent provision for the executive department; and must accordingly pray that the pecuniary estimates for the station in which I am placed, may, during my continuance in it, be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good may be thought to require.

"Having thus imparted to you my sentiments, as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, I shall take my present leave; but not without resorting once more to the benign Parent of the human race, in humble supplication, that since he has been pleased to favor the American people, with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquility, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity on a form of government, for the security of their union, and the advancement of their happiness; so his divine blessing may be equally conspicuous in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures on which the success of this government must depend.

G. WASHINGTON."

The first session of Congress, under the new constitution, continued their sittings from the 4th of March until the 29th of September, their attention was chiefly directed towards the establishment of

various regulations for the restoration of the public credit of the United States, and other objects of political economy. During the period of the session, the President resided at New-York, sanctioning the proceedings of the legislature, and otherwise organizing the federal government. Shortly after the rising of Congress, he made a tour to the states of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New-Hampshire, attended by Messrs. Lear and Jackson, his secretaries. In every part of the country through which he passed, the citizens embraced the opportunity of personally testifying their esteem and respect of the *man of their choice*, in whose character, whatever is great and good—whatever dignifies and adorns human nature, are so happily united. All that a grateful people could pay, was paid, whenever he approached a town or village, the roads were lined with citizens to hail him welcome—the military escorted him from place to place. Particularly to relate all the grateful testimonials which were paid him during this visit, is impossible from their number. If our limits would permit, a description of the manner in which he was received at Boston would be particularly interesting; nor can we specify the numerous congratulatory addresses which were presented him. But no particular circumstance gave him more pleasure, during his whole tour, than the plain and hearty manner in which Mr. Northey, the chairman of the selectmen at Salem received him. This gentleman is of the society of Friends, and when the President was presented to the selectmen, Mr. Northey, being covered,

took him by the hand said, "Friend Washington, we are glad to see thee, and in behalf of the inhabitants, bid thee a hearty welcome to Salem."

On his arrival at Newburyport, the following incident occurred, a poor old soldier named Cotton, who was with him in the memorable battle on the Ohio, when Braddock was defeated, requested, and was admitted into the room where the President was—on the soldier's asking "*how Major Washington did?*" the President immediately recollected his person, and rising from his chair, took him by the hand, and tenderly enquired into the scenes of his life, and present circumstances, "I thank God," answered the soldier, "that I have an opportunity of seeing my old commander once more, I have seen him in adversity, and now seeing him in glory, I can go home and die contented." The next morning, he came again to take leave of the President, who gave him a guinea, which he accepted he said, "merely as a token in remembrance of his commander," and which he wore pendent on his bosom, declaring that nothing earthly should separate it from him.

While General Washington was President of the United States, the following circumstance, which does honour to his humanity, occurred. One Reuben Rouzy, of Virginia, owed him about a thousand pounds; one of the President's agents brought a suit for the money, judgment was obtained, and execution issued against the body of the defendant, who was taken to goal. He had a considerable landed property, but this kind of property,

cannot be sold in Virginia for debts, unless at the discretion of the person. He had a large family, and preferred lying in goal to selling his lands, for the sake of his children.—Some of his acquaintance hinted to him, that probably General Washington did not know any thing of the proceeding, and it might be well to send him a petition, with a statement of the circumstances. He did so, and the very next post from Philadelphia, after his petition arrived, brought him a releasement, with a severe *reprimand* on the agent for acting in such a cruel manner, without consent. Poor Rouzy was, in consequence, restored to his family and happiness, who never laid down their head at night, without offering their prayers to Heaven for our *much beloved* WASHINGTON.

On the 4th day of January, 1790, Congress held their second session at New-York. The President opened it with a speech; he congratulated them on the favorable prospects which the public affairs then assumed; the accession of the state of North-Carolina to the Union, the rising credit and respectability of the country, and the concord, peace and plenty with which they were blessed: he directed their attention towards the making provision for the common defence, assuring them that "to be prepared for war, is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace, and that a free people ought not only to be armed but disciplined;" he recommended the protection of the Western and Southern frontiers against the depredations of the hostile Indians; the establishment of intercourse

with other nations; the framing of an uniform law for the naturalization of foreigners; the importance of uniformity in the currency, weights and measures throughout the Union; the advancement of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures; the encouragement of exertions of skill, and genius, and to facilitate the intercourse between the distant parts of the country, by a due attention to the post-office and post-roads. He particularly recommended the promotion of science and literature, as the surest basis of public happiness, and best means of securing a free constitution, by teaching the people to know and to value their rights, to discern and provide against innovations of them, to distinguish between oppression and the necessary exercise of lawful authority, to discriminate the spirit of liberty from that of licentiousness, cherishing the first, avoiding the last, and uniting a speedy but temperate vigilance against encroachments, with an inviolable respect to the laws. He informed them that he had directed the papers and estimates to be laid before them, which were necessary to convey to them, that information of the state of the Union, which it was his duty to afford. He concluded by assuring them, that "He should derive great satisfaction, from a co-operation with them, in the pleasing, though arduous task, of ensuring to their fellow citizens the blessings which they have a right to expect from a free, efficient government."

This session continued their sittings until the 12th of August following; in that month the Pre-

sident negociated a treaty of peace and friendship between the United States and the Creek nation of Indians; the ceremony took place at New-York, on the 30th of September. The same year General Harmar, with 320 United States troops and 1133 militia, gave battle to the Miami Indians, by whom he was defeated with the loss of 183 men killed, and 31 wounded; about 100 or upwards of the Indians were killed. The Miami village, containing about 100 log houses, or wigwams, with 20,000 bushels of corn, was destroyed.

The third session of Congress met on the 6th of December, 1790, and rose on the 3d of March following; their deliberations were chiefly directed towards the regulation of commerce, further improvement of the judicial system, and making provision for the appointment of consuls in foreign countries. The state of Kentucky was admitted into the union as a distinct state, and a loan was negotiated with the states of Holland.

The Indian war continued on the frontier of the states. During the summer of 1791, General Scott surprised the Wabash towns; he killed about 30 Indians, took 50 prisoners, and brought with him 200 horses, loaded with peltry and other articles of plunder, with the loss of three men only. The attention of the President during the period of this Congress, was chiefly directed towards the adoption of measures for the protection of the frontiers, and establishment of commerce.

On the 24th of October, 1791, the second Congress commenced their first session: the President,

as usual, opened the session by a speech to both houses; he began by remarking the abundance of the preceding harvest, the progressive state of agriculture, manufactures, commerce and navigation, and the general and happy effects which had been produced by the revival of public and private confidence, to which the laws of the United States had so eminently contributed. He mentioned the plan laid down for conciliating the friendship of the Indians; the basis of which was a strict adherance to the dictates of justice and humanity. The act for laying a duty on distilled spirits, had been, he said, attended with some difficulty, from the want of experience in the federal government, to make the proper arrangements, and, in some parts of the union, there had been a misconception of its provisions; but he entertained no doubt that the discontent produced from it would be removed by a proper explanation of the law. The President next observed, that, agreeable to several acts on that subject, a district of ten miles square, for the permanent seat of the government of the United States, had been fixed upon and announced by proclamation; that the district comprehended lands on both sides of the Potomac, and the towns of Alexandria and George-town; that a city had accordingly been laid out, and that there was every reason to expect a due progress in the buildings. —He also informed the two houses that a census of the inhabitants of the United States, had been almost completed, and afforded the pleasing assurance that the present population bordered upon

four millions of persons; that a further loan of two millions and an half of florins had been completed in Holland, upon terms similar to the last, and that another loan for six millions of florins had been set on foot. He concluded by recommending to their particular attention, the supporting of the militia on an effective plan; the administration of the post-office, the extention and improvements of the post-roads, the necessity for a public mint, an uniformity of weights and measures, and a provision for the sale of the vacant lands of the United States.

This session continued their deliberations, until the 8th of May, 1892, when they adjourned till the first Monday of November following. During their session and adjournment, there was no remarkable or important event; a serious of massacres, were, as formerly, committed on the frontiers; the hopes expressed by the President, of being able to accommodate the disputes with the Indians, did not prove successful. On the 4th of November, 1791, the United States army, under the command of General St Clair, was attacked by surprize, within fifteen miles of the Miami village; the contest lasted for four hours, when the Indians became victorious, the retreat of the Americans was accomplished with the loss of 46 officers, 600 privates, eight pieces of artillery and their whole baggage. In this battle it is said that 1200 Canadians fought under the disguise of Indians. The attention of the Executive, during this period, was also engaged in devising modes to

reconcile the citizens in some districts of the union, to the law, enacted for the purpose of collecting a certain duty on spirits, distilled within the United States, in some of the states, particularly the western parts of Pensylvania, where a regular and formidable opposition began to manifest itself, in consequence of which the special interposition of the President was deemed advisable. He issued a proclamation, recommending a compliance with the laws, and warning the citizens against all unlawful proceedings and combinations, having a tendency to obstruct the same.

The second Congress met again in November, 1792. The President opened the session with a speech, the greatest part of which respected the unfortunate endeavors to terminate the Indian hostilities. He informed Congress of the opposition which had been manifested to the excise law, and recommended a revision of the judiciary system. He further observed that three loans had been negociated for the use of the United States, one at Antwerp, and two at Amsterdam, each for three millions of florins, on very reasonable terms, which afforded a pleasing evidence of the increasing credit of the new government. On the 2d of March, 793, this session adjourned.

Heretofore the prosperity of the United States met with little or no interruption, except from the hostilities of the Indians. The attention of the Executive was chiefly directed to the establishment of those measures which the organization of the infant republic rendered neces-

sary. The extension of commerce and the disputes of the European powers, rendered it necessary for the United States to send and receive ministers and agents, for the better regulation of affairs.

This necessary measure created troubles and perplexities hitherto unknown to the Executive of the United States. On the 8th of April, 1793, citizen Genet arrived at Charleston, as minister plenipotentiary from the executive of France to the President of the United States. On the 22d of the same month the President issued a proclamation enjoining the citizens of the United States to a strict neutrality, in the contest between the maritime powers, and threatening prosecution to all who should infringe the same. —The public approbation of this wise measure, for the preservation of the public tranquility, was manifested in numerous addresses to the President, thanking him in warm terms for his attention to the interest of the citizens; many, however, were offended at the measure, as they conceived that it implied a deficiency of respect and gratitude to the republic of France, to whom the United States were highly indebted for their independence. Genet arrived in Philldelphia, the seat of government, on the 17th of May. The conduct of this minister is, perhaps, unexampled in diplomatic history. It was not until the publication of the Proclamation of the President, enjoining neutrality, that the government first heard of his arrival, and even then, they were only informed through the medium of the news-papers, about a

fortnight after his arrival; instead of presenting his credentials to the President, he began to assume a conduct imprudent and unbecoming; he undertook to authorize the fitting out of armed vessels, he enlisted citizens and others, and gave commissions to cruise and commit hostilities against the vessels of England and other nations at war with France, but who were, at the same time, at peace with the United States. These vessels had actually taken prizes, brought them into American ports where the consuls of France held courts of admiralty, tried, condemned, and authorized their sale as legal prizes. These proceedings, in opposition to the peace of the United States, were instantly complained of by Mr. Hammond, the British minister; thus were the seeds of future controversy planted. The government of the United States interfered, and, in some cases, over-ruled the proceedings of both the British and French, as illegal; remonstrances were exhibited to the President, from both sides, which created a series of diplomatic correspondence. A new source of discontent, on the part of the French now arose; Genet demanded, with some abruptness, money from the treasury of the United States, in part payment of their debt to France, with which the American government found it inconvenient to comply. This state of diplomatic hostility could not be expected to hold out long without coming to a crisis. Accordingly, on the 16th of August, the President ordered Mr. Jefferson, the Secretary of State, to address a letter to Mr.

Morris, the American ambassador in France, soliciting the republic to recal their minister. In the mean time Citizen Duplaine, Vice-consul for the republic of France, in the port of Boston, having committed sundry encroachments on the laws of the United States, the President, in consequence thereof, suspended his powers.

The term for which General Washington was elected President having expired, he was again re-elected to the same office. On the 2d of December, 1793, the third Congress commenced their first session. The President, in his speech to both houses, expressed a respectful sense of the confidence that he enjoyed, in being again called, by the suffrage of his fellow-citizens, to the office of chief magistrate. He recited the measures which he had adopted to avoid a rupture with any of the powers at war, and to ensure to the citizens of the United States, the rights of neutrality. He further recommended to Congress, the necessity of placing the country in a state of defence; that while the United States fulfilled their duties to the rest of the world, they may likewise exact the fulfilment of the like duties towards them. He informed them of the means which had been pursued for conciliating the dispositions of the Indians, and recommended to Congress to make provision for the establishment of commerce with the Indian nations, as the best means of securing their interest, and rendering their tranquility permanent; he concluded by recommending a repeal of the tax on the

transportation of public prints, as they contained the best means of informing the minds, and securing the affections of their constituents; he afterwards, by a special message, informed the House of Representatives, "that although the government of the French nation, had generally manifested a friendly disposition to the United States, yet the person unfortunately appointed their minister plenipotentiary, had breathed nothing of the friendly disposition of the nation which sent him; his proceedings had uniformly tended to involve us in a war abroad, and discord and anarchy at home." He hoped that the French government would not long suffer the United States to remain exposed to the action of a person, who had so little respected the mutual dispositions of the two countries.

Soon after this period, this minister was recalled, his conduct having been unequivocally disapproved of. About this period the commerce of the United States began to suffer greatly, from the depredations of the British, under pretence of their being loaded with French property; it also suffered from the piracy of privateers, who, for the most part disclaiming justice altogether, seized both vessels and cargo, and disposed of the same for their own use; a considerable number of American vessels were likewise captured in the Western Ocean by the Algerine corsairs. These subjects were assumed by Congress, and many modes were proposed for the purpose of putting a stop to the unwar-

rantable excesses. A bill was passed, to provide a naval armament against the Algerines. On the 25th of March, a motion was made in the House of Representatives, assented to by the Senate, and signed by the President, laying an embargo for 30 days on all vessels bound to foreign ports; this embargo was afterwards continued until the 25th of May. The President was empowered to raise an additional corps of artillery-men, for the purpose of garrisoning the fortifications for the defence of the sea-coasts: he was also authorized to call on the executives of the different states, to take effectual measures for organizing 80,000 effective militia.

On the 19th of May, intelligence was received from the territory N. W. of the river Ohio, stating the hardships which the citizens of that territory sustained from the hostile disposition of the Cherokee Indians; the massacre of 200 people, and the loss of 2000 horses, formed a part of the list of their disasters. On the 20th of May, the President, by a message, informed the House of Representatives, that there had been some danger of hostilities against the territories of Spain, in the neighborhood of the United States; that the governor of Kentucky had indicated that he would make no exertions to prevent the expulsion of the Spaniards from the banks of the Mississippi, as he had found them a perfidious and worthless people, constantly exciting the Indians to murder the settlers in that quarter.

During this session of Congress, many important

laws were enacted. The act assigning to the Marquis de la Fayette, the sum of 24,424 dollars, for his services, during the war, being the pay of a major-general; and the act forbidding American citizens, or foreigners, residing in the United States, under severe penalties, from being concerned in the slave trade, does great honor to the legislature.—On the 9th of June, 1794, this session adjourned.

In 1794, during the recess of Congress, the attention of the President of the United States was called to suppress an insurrection, which began to assume a very formidable aspect. It was confined to the western parts of the State of Pennsylvania. The outlines of it are as follow, viz. During the year 1790, the Congress of the United States found it necessary "to lay and collect excises." This mode of taxation, discordant to the genius of the citizens, in many parts of the union, met with considerable opposition, which, however, was gradually banished by reason and patriotism, excepting the four western counties of Pennsylvania, where a prejudice still remained, and produced symptoms of riot and violence. The disaffection was at first vented in general complaints; certain associations were formed to prevent the operation of the laws, and the excise officers received some marks of contempt and rudeness. These association held public meetings, and published their resolutions. Besides the excise law, they censured several other acts of the federal government; as the exorbitant

salaries of office, the institution of a national bank, the interest of the public debt, &c.

On the 6th of September, 1791, the collector of the revenue for that district was seized by a party, armed, and in disguise; they tarred and feathered him, cut off his hair, and committed other acts of violence; legal process was therefore issued against the offenders, but the insurgents prevented the marshal from serving them; they fired upon him, arrested, and, for some time, detained him as a prisoner; a number of similar outrages were committed. The President, the ever watchful guardian of the constitution, beheld, with sorrow, these excesses; he sought and weighed what was best to be done in this momentous crisis; he beheld the judiciary stripped of its capacity to enforce the laws, and crimes, which reached to the very existence of social order, perpetrated without control; the friends of government insulted, and that constitution violated, which he had made a sacred vow to protect; he beheld with abhorrence the idea of "arraying citizen against citizen," until every lenient measure should be exhausted. He issued proclamations, exhorting the rioters to desist from such disorderly proceedings, he recommended obedience to the laws, he appointed commissioners to repair to the scene of insurrection, authorised them to repair to the scene of insurrection, authorized them to confer with the insurgents, to state to them his sensations, to assure them that it was his earnest wish to avoid a resort to coercion; he

even offered them pardon, on condition of receiving satisfactory assurance of obedience to the laws.

These lenient measures did not produce the good effects that should have been expected. The President therefore deemed it prudent to resort to military force.—Fifteen thousand militia were put in motion, their number intimidated the insurgents; thus the insurrection was quelled without the effusion of blood; some of the ringleaders were apprehended and brought to trial; one of them was found guilty of high treason and condemned to suffer, but was pardoned by the President.—Indeed, the same goodness of disposition actuated the President, from the beginning to the termination of this licentious invasion of the laws, notwithstanding there are in the United States, certain discontented, invidious individuals, who wish to stigmatize every act of the Executive with opprobium.

In November, 1794, the third Congress held their second session, at Philadelphia. The President began his speech with a history of the opposition which had been manifested to the constitution and laws of the United States, and of the means which he had pursued to suppress it; the alacrity which the militia, and others who volunteered their service displayed, exhibited, he said, "to the highest advantage, the value of republican government; to behold the most and least wealthy of our citizens, standing in the same ranks as private soldiers, pre-eminently distinguished by being

the army of the constitution; undeterred by a march of three hundred miles, over rugged mountains, by the approach of an inclement season, or by any other discouragement." He recommended to Congress to re-imburse the officers of government and other citizens, who had sustained losses, for their generous exertions for upholding the constitution and laws, "the amount," he said, "would not be great; and on future emergencies, the government would be amply repaid by the influence of an example, that he who incurs a loss in its defence, shall find a recompense in its liberality."—The intelligence from the army of General Wayne, acting against the hostile Indians N. W. of the Ohio, he said, afforded a happy presage to the military operations, that they had damped the ardour and obstinacy of the savages.—Yet although the power of the United States to punish them, could not be questioned, that he was not unwilling to cement a lasting peace, upon terms of equity and good neighborhood; he recommended the adoption of a definitive plan for the redemption of the public debt, and in subsequent communications he transmitted to them, certain papers relative to the intercourse of the United States with foreign nations; they announced to Congress and to the world, his unremitting exertions to cultivate peace with all the world, to observe treaties with good faith, to check deviations from the line of impartiality, and to explain and correct what was misapprehended or appeared injurious.

Ever since the formal ratification of the treaties of peace between the United States and Great-Britain, numerous causes of complaint has existed on the part of both countries respecting its fulfilment. The history of the nature, progress, and final determination of these disputes, will form a very interesting part in the history of the political and diplomatic character of *President Washington*; but the bounds which we have assigned to the present sketch, prevents us from entering fully upon the subject: The ground of complaint on both sides, was disputed in 1797, in a correspondence between Mr. Jefferson, secretary of state, and Mr. Hammond, the envoy of Britain; in their letters, the reciprocal complaints are stated with candour, perspicuity and completeness; to support their respective arguments, they bring forward on each side, a large body of illustrations and authorities, which are highly interesting. This correspondence was published by Congress in 1794. The arguments of Mr. Jefferson appeared to have contained unanswerable weight, as no reply or explanation were ever made to them, although requested by him.—Affairs remained in this state of suspense until June 1793, when the British, in consequence of their hostilities with France, issued orders to the commanders of their vessels, to stop all neutral vessels carrying provisions to any port in that republic; ships attempting to enter any French port, blockaded by the English, were to be condemned, both vessel and cargo, whatever it may

consist of: the order contained a limited exception in favor of Denmark and Sweden, but in the execution of it, the rights of America were entirely disregarded. This matter produced a diplomatic discussion between the ministers of the two countries, both at London and Philadelphia: Their correspondence produced a mutual wish on both sides to establish a treaty of commerce, and a friendly adjustment of all complaints. The President of the United States, accordingly nominated Mr. John Jay, chief judge of the United States, as an envoy extraordinary to the court of London. After a short passage, Mr. Jay arrived in London, where he met with a polite reception, and negociated the *Treaty of Peace, Commerce and Navigation*, which at present exists between the two countries.

The Treaty arrived in Philadelphia in March 1795; it was shortly after submitted to the Senate for their consent; they returned it to the President on the 24th of June, and advised the conditional ratification thereof. About the 30th of the same month it was submitted to the public through the medium of the news papers. It now became the general topic of conversation; it was placed in all the different points of view of which it was susceptible, and in many of which it could not admit.

It met with great opposition, addresses and resolutions were received from all the commercial towns of the union; some advising its ratification, others disapproving of it in *toto*. This opposition

was viewed by the President in a very serious light; he considered the subject and weighed all the arguments which had been advanced against it; his own opinion was not in favor of it, but he did not wish to differ from the Senate, and thought that it would be better to ratify it in the manner they had advised; to this measure he was also induced, as Mr. Jay had asserted "that no better terms could possibly be obtained; and that obstinacy in rejecting the settlement, might be serious." The President therefore assented, and ratifications were exchanged, with the suspension of the most objectionable article.

This transaction is perhaps the most unfortunate that occurred to his Excellency during the whole period of his Presidency. Those opposed to the treaty did not fail to load him with reproach; no stone was left unturned that could impress upon the minds of the citizens gross falsehoods; such as, that the treaty contained no reciprocal advantages, that the benefits were all on the side of Britain, that their rights were not only neglected, but absolutely sold, that it was made with the design of oppressing the French, and contrary to every principle of gratitude and sound policy.

The first session of the fourth Congress met at Philadelphia, in December, 1795. The President in a speech informed them that negociations were on foot for the adjustment of affairs with the hostile Indians, and also with the Dey and Regency of Algiers; that he had received assurances of a

speedy and satisfactory conclusion of the negociations with Spain; that with the advice of the Senate he had ratified a treaty with Britain, upon a condition which excepts part of one article. He recommended a review of the military establishment, and to make provision for garrisoning and securing the western posts which were to be delivered up by the British. He informed them that a state of the finance and appropriations necessary or the ensuing year would be laid before them, as also statements relative to the mint, progress in providing materials for building frigates, state of fortifications, and military magazines, &c. He concluded with a recommendation of temperate discussion and mutual forbearance in subjects where a difference of opinion may be apt to arise.

A warm and lengthy discussion took place in the House of Representatives relative to the British treaty. Both sides of the question were ably supported; few subjects had ever come before the House, upon which so many members delivered their sentiments. On the 24th of March, 1796, they came to a resolution, requesting the President to lay before the House, a copy of the instructions to Mr. Jay, together with his correspondence and other documents relative to that treaty. To which request, the President gave a positive refusal; he assured the House, that he had always endeavoured to harmonize with the other branches of government, and that he had never withheld any information which the constitution enjoined him to

give. But that the nature of foreign negociations required caution and secrecy, that all the papers relative thereto had been laid before the Senate, that the constitution empowered him to make treaties with the consent of that body, but that it would establish a dangerous precedent to admit a right in the House of Representatives to demand and have all papers respecting negociations with foreign powers, after the treaties were finally concluded and ratified, and the assent of that house not necessary to their validity.

We deem it unnecessary to enter into a history of the differences with the republic of France, as they are not yet terminated, and are so recent as to be generally remembered, suffice it to observe, that during the whole period in which General Washington sat at the helm of public affairs, his whole conduct has uniformly exhibited moderation and prudence, magnanimity and firmness, wisdom and virtue.

The period of General Washington's second election to the office of Chief Magistrate being nearly expired, he put on a determined resolution to retire from the public and enjoy his declining years in private life. Upon this momentous occasion, resigning a charge which he at first accepted through his enthusiasm for the principles of *rational liberty*, he was impressed with the purest wishes for the future happiness of that republic, which he had devoted the early, the mature, and a portion of his delining years to establish. And as a

testimony of pure regard, he published the following masterly address to his fellow-citizens.

ADDRESS

Of his Excellency GEORGE WASHINGTON, *Esq. President of the United States, announcing his intention of retiring from all public employment.*

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Friends and Fellow-Citizens,

THE period of a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived, when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person, who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation, which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my

situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been an uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped, that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives, which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement, from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice, that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty, or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only

say, that I have with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me, as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary; I have the consolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment, which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honours it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction,

were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging, in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism, the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows. That Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence; that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained; that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation, and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to applause, the affection and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplations, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which

appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad; of your safety, of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to forsee, that from different causes, and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union, to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual and immoveable

attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in an event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties, which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of *American*, which belongs to you, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discrimina ions. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together: the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint councils and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The North in an unrestrained intercourse with the South, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprize and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The South, in the same intercourse, benefitting by the agency of the North, sees its agriculture grow, and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the North, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength to which itself is unequally adapted. The East, in a like intercourse with the West, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications, by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home.—The West derives from the East, supplies requisite to its growth and comfort; and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the *secure* enjoyment of indispensable *outlets* for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one *nation*.—Any other tenure by which the West can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unpatural con-

nexion with any foreign power, must be instrinsically precarious.

While then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in Union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreignn nations; and what is of inestimable value! they must derive from Union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries, not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments and intrigues would stimulate and embitter.—Hence likewise they will avoid the necessity of those over-grown military establishments, which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to Republican Liberty; in this sense, it is that your Union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the prescrvation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the Union as a primary object of patriotic desire.—Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a

sphere?—Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. —We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective sub-divisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. 'Tis well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to Union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those, who, in any quarter, may endeavour to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterising parties by *Geographical* discriminations, "*Northern* and *Southern*, *Atlantic* and *Western*;" whence designing men may endeavour to excite a belief, that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these misrepresentations: they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had an useful lesson on this head: they have seen, in the negociation by the executive, and in the

unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event, throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propogated among them, of the policy in the general government and in the Atlantic states unfriendly to their interests in regard to the *Mississippi*: they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the *Union* by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your union, a government for the whole is indispensable.—No alliances, however strict, between the parts, can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances, in all times, have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government better calculated than your former for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full inves-

tigation, and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting securing with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true *Liberty*. The basis of our political system is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitution of government; but, the constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with real design to direct, controul, counteract, or awe the regular deliberations and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force; to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public admini-

tration the mirror of the ill concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely in the course of time and things to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon the principles however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect in the forms of the constitution alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and that to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard, by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facili-

ty changes upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interest, in a country far extensive as ours, a government of as much vigour as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty, is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is indeed little else than a name where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and so maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyments of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger o parties in the state, with a particular reference tof the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, generally.

The spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments more or less stifley, controuled, or repressed ; but in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over

another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissention, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism.—But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries, which generally result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual: and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public counsels, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealouses and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another; foments occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself, through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free coun

tries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This, within certain limits, is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favour upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not be quenched; it demands an uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution, in those entrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of their powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into dif-

ferent depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern: some of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in a way which the constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil, any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, Religion and Morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labour to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connexions with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution in-

dulge the supposition. that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure ; reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

'Tis substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric.

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it, is to use it as sparingly as possible ; avoiding the occasions of expense by cultivating peace ; but remembering also, that timely disbursements to repel it ; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burthen which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these

Maxims belongs to your representatives; but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate.

To facilitate them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue: that to have revenue, there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised that are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects, (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive for candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for the spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigences may at any time dibtate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations: cultivate peace and harmony with all; religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be, that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt, that in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it?—Can it be that Providence has not connect-

ed the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature.—Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that in the place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another, disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and untractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur.

Hence, frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed and bloody contests.—The nation prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts, through passion, what reason would reject; at other times it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambi-

tion, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty of nations, has been the victim.

So likewise a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favourite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained; and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld: And it gives to ambitious, corrupted or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favourite nation) facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligations, and commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarm-

ing to the enlightened and independent patriot. —How many opportunities, do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the other.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake; since history and experience prove, that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy to be useful must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see the danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even to second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favourite, are liable to become ssspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connexion as possible. So far as we have already

formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith.—Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation.—Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations or collisions of her friendships, or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance, when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality, we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit your own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humour or caprice?

'Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances, with any portion of the foreign world: so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it: for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is necessary, and would be unwise, to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony and liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favours or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying, by gentle means, the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing, establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them; conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keep

ing in view, that 'tis folly in one nation to look for disinterested favours from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favours, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon real favours from nation to nation. 'Tis an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will controul the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations: But, if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompence for the solicitude of your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles that they have been delineated, the public records and oth-

evidences of my conduct must witness to you and the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793 is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice and by that of your Representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me; uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest, to take a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it, with moderation, perseverance and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligations which justice and humanity impose on

every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavour to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency, which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error: I am, nevertheless, too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. *Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.*

Relying on its kindness in this, as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man, who views in it the natural soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations; I anticipate, with pleasing expectation, that retreat, in

which I promise myself to realize, without alloy the sweet enjoyments of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government; the ever-favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward as I trust, of our mutual cares, labours and dangers.

G. WASHINGTON.

United States,

17th September, 1796.

On the 7th of December, 1796, President Washington delivered his last speech to the representatives of the people at the opening of the second session of the fourth Congress. We regret that our contracted limits will not permit of inserting it verbatim. In this address he communicates information respecting the measures taken for carrying into effect treaties with the Indian nations, Great Britain, Spain, and Algiers. He likewise informs, that measures are in operation for effecting treaties with the Regencies of Tunis and Tripoli. He wishes the United States to look to the means, and to set about the gradual creation of a navy; so that a future war of Europe may not find our commerce in the same unprotected state in which it was found by the present.

He then proceeds to recommend the establishment of certain branches of manufacture on pub-

lic account; *particularly those which are of a nature essential to the furnishing and equipping of the public force in time of war.*

He judiciously recommends the institution of a Board of Agriculture, composed of proper characters, charged with collecting and diffusing information, and enabled, by premiums and small pecuniary aids, to encourage and assist a spirit of discovery and improvement. Experience has proved this to be a cheap instrument of immense national benefit. He then recalls the attention of Congress, to a subject, he had before proposed to their consideration, the expediency of establishing a national university, and also a military academy. He points out as motives to the institution of a national university, the assimilation of the principles, opinions, and manners of our countrymen, by the common education of a portion of our youth from every quarter, and remarks that the more homogeneous our citizens can be made in these particulars, the greater will be the prospect of our permanent union: and that a primary object should be the education of our youth in the science of GOVERNMENT. In a republic, what species of knowledge can be equally important? and what duty can be more pressing on its Legislature, than to patronize a plan for communicating it to those who are to be the future guardians of the liberties of the country?

The institution of a military academy, he also observes, is recommended by cogent reasons.—However pacific, says he, the general policy of a nation may be, it ought never to be without an adequate stock of military knowledge, for emergencies.

The following important paragraph is verbatim: "The compensation to the officers of the United States, in various instances, and in none more than in respect to the most important stations, appear to call for legislative revision. The consequences of a defective provision are of serious import to the government. If private wealth is to supply the defect of public contribution, it will greatly contract the sphere, within which the selection of character for office is to be made, and will proportionably diminish the probability of a choice of men able, as well as upright. Besides, that it would be repugnant to the vital principles of our government, virtually to exclude from public trusts, talents and virtue, unless accompanied by wealth."

The President then expresses his regret at the unpleasant circumstances which have occured relative to the French republic; his ardent wish being to maintain cordial harmony, as far as is consistent with the rights and honour of our country.

The House of Representatives he informed, that the revenues of the United State continue in a state of progressive improvement; and are invited

to take such further measures as will ascertain, to our country, the speedy extinguishment of the public debt.

He then concluded his address to both Houses of Congress, in the following words: "My solicitude to see the militia of the United States placed on an efficient establishment, has been so often and so ardently expressed, that I shall but barely recal the subject to your view, on the present occasion at the same time, I shall submit to your enquiry, whether our harbours are yet sufficiently secured."

"The situation in which I now stand, for the last time, in the midst of the representatives of the people of the United States, naturally recalls the period, when the administration of the present form of government commenced; and I cannot omit the occasion to congratulate you, and my country, on the success of the experiment; nor to repeat my fervent prayer to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, and Sovereign Arbiter of Nations, that his providential care, may still be extended to the United States; that the virtue and happiness of the people may be preserved; and that the government which they have instituted for the protection of their liberties may be perpetual."

On Saturday the 4th o March, 1797, *John Adams*, Esq. who was elected the successor of *President Washington*, attended the Senate and Representives of the United States, and took his oath

of office, according to the directions of the constitution. The ceremony afforded a spectacle of high satisfaction and delight to every genuine republican. To behold a fellow-citizen, raised by the voice of the people, to be the first magistrate of a free nation, and to behold at the same time *George Washington*, who lately filled the presidential chair, attending the inauguration of his successor in office, as a private citizen, beautifully exemplifying sublime simplicity and excellence of republican government.

The last official act of *President Washington*, is a letter to the Secretary of State, dated March 3, 1797. It respects certain forged letters, which were published in the years 1777 and 1796, and obtruded on the public as his. They were published at the two most critical periods of his life, with the view of striking at the integrity of his motives, of wounding his character, and of deceiving the people. At the conclusion, therefore of his public employments, he deemed is a duty which he owed to himself, to his country, and to truth, to detail the circumstances, and solemnly to declare, that the letters (the dates of which he recites) are base forgeries, were never written by him, and that he never saw or heard of them, until they appeared in print. During the period in which he held the supreme command of the army, and his civil administration, the purity of his own mind prevented him from contradict-

ing the falshood by any public declaration; but, upon his retiring to private life, and not knowing how soon a more serious event might take place, he made this public declaration, and requested that it might be deposited in the office of the department of state, as a testimony of the truth to the present generation and to posterity.

On the 22d of March, 1797, General Washington took farewell of all public employment, and left Philadelphia for his estate at Mount Vernon. In every town through which he passed on his way, he received the grateful and affectionate addresses which were so justly due to his merits from an enlightened and grateful people.

Having thus amply described the *august Washington* in his public character and official capacity, suffer us, for a moment, to follow him in private, and take a view of him in the character of a plain citizen, in his rural residence at Mount Vernon.

The virtuous simplicity which distinguished the private life of General Washington, though less known than the dazzling splendor of his military atchievements, is not less edifying in example, or worthy the attention of his countrymen. The conspicuous character he has acted on the theatre of human affairs, the uniform dignity with which he sustained his part amidst difficulties of the most discouraging nature, and the glory of having arrived through them at the hour

of triumph, have made many official and literary persons on both sides of the ocean, ambitious of a correspondence with him. These correspondencies unavoidably engrossed a great portion of his time; and the communications contained in them, combined with the numerous periodical Publications and News-papers which he perused, rendered him, as it were, the *focus of political intelligence for the new world.* Nor were his conversations with well informed men less conducive to bring him acquainted with the various events which happened in the different countries of the globe. Every foreigner of distinction, who travelled in America, made it a point to visit him. Members of Congress and other dignified personages seldom passed his house without calling to pay their respects. As another source of information, it may be mentioned, that many literary productions were sent to him annually by their authors in Europe; and that there is scarcely one work written in America, on any art, science, or subject, which did not seek his protection, or which was not offered to him as a token of gratitude. Mechanical inventions were frequently submitted to him for his approbation, and natural curiosities presented to him for his investigation. But the multiplicity of epistolary applications often on the remains of some business which happened when he was in office, sometimes on subjects foreign to his situation, frivolous in their nature, and intended merely to

gratify the vanity of the writers by drawing answers from him, were truly distressing and almost incredible. His benignity in answering, perhaps increased the number. Did he not husband every moment to the best advantage, it would not have been in his power to notice the vast variety of subjects that claimed his attention.

In his manner of living he was extremely regular, temperate and industrious. He rose winter and summer at the dawn of day, generally read or wrote sometime before breakfast: breakfasted about seven o'clock on Indian hoecake and tea, and often rode immediately to his different farms, and remained with his labourers till a little after two o'clock, when he returned; at three he dined, commonly on a single dish, and drank from half a pint to a pint of Madeira wine, this, with one small dish of tea which he took half an hour before the setting of the sun, constituted his whole sustenance till the next day. His table, however, was always furnished with elegance and exuberance, but was void of pomp; and whether he had company or not, he remained an hour at table in familiar conversation. His temper was of a serious cast, and his countenance carried the impression of thoughtfulness: yet he perfectly relished a pleasant story, an unaffected sally of wit, or a burlesque description. After dinner he applied himself to business, and about

nine retired to rest; but when he had company he politely attended upon them till they wished to withdraw.—Agriculture was his favourite employment, he made observations on the produce of lands, and endeavoured to throw new light upon the business of the farmer; linen and woollen clothes were manufactured under his roof, and order and economy were established in all his departments, both within and without doors. Mrs. Washington presided over the whole, and united to the qualities of an excellent farmer's wife, that simple dignity which ought to characterise a woman whose husband has acted so distinguished a part on the public theatre.—Such is the history of the private life of this great character.

In 1798, the unparrallelled treatment which the American ministers received at Paris from the republic of France, left little ground to hope for any amicable accommodation with that republic, in consequence of which, the military forces of the United States were greatly augmented, and the President, with the advice of the Senate, appointed *George Washington, Lieutenant-General and Commander in Chief of all the armies raised or to be raised by the United States*, this wise and judicious appointment was attended with the happiest effect, the virtue of a general so well experienced in war, established the national dignity and independence, and inspired the citizens with enthusiasm. On

receiving the appointment, the General expressed a wish that it had fallen upon a man less advanced in years, and better qualified to encounter the vicissitudes of war, he recurred to his determination of closing his life in retirement and peace, but the conduct of the directory of France towards our country, he said, "excited in his breast corresponding sentiments with the rest of his countrymen," in consequence of which, he accepted the appointment with this reserve, that, "he should not be called into the field, until the army was in a situation to require his presence, or it became indispensable by the urgency of circumstances," he informed the President, "he could not accept of any emolument annexed to the appointment, before entering into a situation to incur expense."

He held this command, and contributed his advice and assistance towards the arrangement and organization of the army until the 14th of December, 1799, when it pleased Divine Providence to remove him from this life; he was in his 68th year, and in the enjoyment of perfect health; the disorder of which he died was an inflammatory sore throat, which proceeded from a slight cold.

"On Friday, the 13th, he rode out to one of his plantations, and was much wet by the rain, on returning. He was taken with the *croup* that night; but from humanity to his servants and

tenderness to his physician, *very unfortunately* declined sending for medical aid, until day-light on Saturday morning.

"Before Dr. Craik arrived at Mount Vernon, the General had been bled by one of his overseers. The doctor repeated the same immediately; to whom the General observed, "he had sent for him too late;" and seemed to have a presentiment of his dissolution; Doctors Dick and Brown also attended.

"As his respiration became difficult, he said calmly, "*doctors, I die hard.*" But notwithstanding the excruciating agonies of his violent disease, he tranquilly asked several questions during the evening. About fifteen minutes before he died, (which was between 11 and 12 o'clock, on Saturday night, the 14th of December) he said to Doctor Craik, "*doctor what is the clock? how long am I to continue in this situation?*" The doctor answered, "*Not long, sir.*" He then rejoined, with the firmest countenance imaginable, "*I have no fear, doctor, to die.*"

Mrs. Washington was at the bed side with his family, and a number of domestics in the room. He would not wound their sensibility by taking a formal leave of any one.—At last his breathing grew shorter, *he closed his eyes and mouth with his own hands*, and expired!—Thus did the last moments of this venerable man correspond with the whole tenor of his well-spent life. He died with perfect

resignation to the will of Heaven, and in full possession of his reason, not a groan or complaint escaped him!

His body was entombed, with solemn honours and funeral pomp, in the family vault, upon the estate of Mount Vernon, attended by the clergy, military, masonic brethren, and a numerous concourse of citizens.

The melancholy intelligence of the death of General Washington, was every where received throughout the United States, with sensations of of sorrow and regret; the houses of Congress for a period adjourned; they condoled with the President of the United States, on the loss our country had sustained in the death of her worthiest citizen, they went in mourning, and requested the President to issue his proclamation, recommending the citizens throughout the Union, to wear black crape on the left arm for thirty days; all the state assemblies followed the example: orders were issued from the war office, navy department, &c. requesting the officers to wear crape on the left arm for six months, and the vessels of the navy to put on mourning for one week, by wearing their colours half mast high.

Orders were issued by the direction of the President of the United States, announcing to the army the death of its *beloved chief*, and requested the military honours therein, specifying to be paid at the several stations of the army.

The Senate and house of Representatives of the United States, enacted "that a marble monument be erected in the capitol in the city of Washington; to the memory of General Washington: and that his family be requested to permit his body to be deposited under it; and that the monument be so designed as to commemorate the great military and political events of his life. That there be a funeral procession, and a public oration delivered on the occasion. The above resolution Mrs. Washington assented, sacrificing her private wishes and individual feelings to the public will. The public procession took place in Philadelphia, on Thursday, December the 26th, the ceremony was judiciously conducted; perhaps there never was a greater display of public mourning, solemnity and respect, exhibited in the western hemisphere; the arrangements united every description of public and private character, civil and military; the funeral service adapted with great felicity to the occasion, was pronounced by Bishop White; the deceased being of the episcopal church; after which, General Lee, who was appointed by Congress for that purpose, delivered the funeral oration; we shall not attempt a report of this admirable eulogium, of which the public are already possessed, convinced that it would suffer by the attempt.

Having pursued this distinguished man throughout his public life and in his private retreat it on-

ly now remains that we describe his person, which bears a very great analogy to the qualifications of his mind.

General Washington was a tall well made man, rather large boned, and had a tolerable genteel address: his features were manly and bold, his eyes of a bluish cast and very lively; his hair a deep brown, his face rather long and marked with the small pox; his complexion sun burnt and without much colour, and his countenance sensible, composed, and thoughtful; there was a remarkable air of dignity about him with a striking degree of gracefulness: He had an excellent understanding without much quickness; was strictly just, vigilant, and generous; an affectionate husband, a faithful friend, a father to the deserving; gentle in his manners, in temper rather reserved; a total stranger to religious prejudices, which have so often excited Christians of one denomination to cut the throats of those of another; in his morals irreproachable; he was never known to exceed the bounds of the most rigid temperance in a word, all his friends and acquaintance universally allow that no man ever united in his own person, a more perfect alliance of the virtues of a philosopher with the talents of a statesman and a general. Candour, sincerity, affability and simplicity seem to have been the striking features of his character. The best portraits ever taken of him, are those painted by the ingenious Mr. Stewart, of Germantown, and the best engraving

is the large mezotinto done by M. Savage, of Philadelphia.

Such is the life and character of the man to whom America entrusted her important cause, and she has had every reason to be satisfied with her choice; and most ungrateful would she be to the Great Disposer of human events, were she not to render him unremitting thanks for having provided her with such a citizen at such a crisis.

Most nations have been favoured with some patriotic deliverer.—The Israelites had their Moses; Rome her Camillus; Greece her Leonidas; Sweden her Gustavus; and England her Hampdens, her Russels, and her Sydneys; but these illustrious heroes, tho' successful in preserving and defending, did not, like *Washington*, form or establish empires, which will, in all probability, be the refuge or asylum of virtue, banished from Europe by luxury and corruption.

ABSTRACT

OF THE LAST

WILL AND TESTAMENT OF

GEN. GEO: WASHINGTON.

I, GEORGE WASHINGTON, citizen of the United States, do declare this my last Will and Testament, revoking all others:—*First*, All my debts are to be punctually and speedily paid, and the legacies herein bequeathed, are to be discharged in the manner directed.

Item. To my dearly beloved wife, *Martha Washington*, I bequeath my whole estate, real and personal, during her life, except such parts thereof as are hereafter otherwise disposed of. My improved lot in Alexandria, I give to her and her heirs forever, as also my houshold and kitchen furniture, with the liquors and groceries, which may be on hand at the time of my decease.

Item. Upon the decease of my wife, I desire, that all the slaves which I hold of *my own right*, shall receive their freedom; but the aged and infirm, who are unable to support themselves, shall be comfortably clothed and fed by my heirs while they live, and such of the children as have no parents, or whose parents are unable or unwilling to provide for them, shall be bound by the court until they arrive at the age of 25 years, upon conditions that they shall be taught to read, write, and be brought up to some useful occupation; I expressly forbid the sale, or transportation out of the state, of any of them, on any pretence whatsoever; and I do solemnly enjoin my executors to see this clause respecting slaves religiously fulfilled.—To my Mulatto man, William, I give immediate freedom, and an annuity of 30 dollars during his life, or if he chooses to remain in the situation he now is, he shall be allowed the cloaths and victuals he has been accustomed to receive, and the above 30 dollars beside, "and this I give him as a testimony of my sense of his attachment to me, and for his faithful services during the revolutionary war.

Item. To the Trustees of the Academy of Alexandria, I bequeath 4000 dollars, or, in other words, twenty of my shares in the bank of Alexandria, towards the support of a free school, for the education of orphans and poor children; the interest or dividend only, to be applied; this is in lieu of an annuity of £ 50, which I have for some

years past, paid towards the support of this institution.

Item. The fifty shares in the Potomac Canal company, which I accepted of upon particular terms,* from the legislature of Virginia, as a recompense for my services during the revolutionary war, and for having suggested the advantages which the community would derive from an extension of inland navigation under legislative patronage, I bequeath in perpetuity towards the endowment of a National University, to be established within the limits of the District of Columbia, under the auspices of the general government; and until such seminary is established, the profits arising from these shares, shall be laid out in the purchase of stock in the bank of Columbia, or some other bank, until a sum adequate to the object be obtained.

Item. My hundred shares in the James River company, I have given, and now confirm, in perpetuity to the use of Liberty Hall Academy, Virginia.

Item. I forever release the estate, &c. of my deceased brother Samuel Washington, from the payment of the money (upwards of £ 1000) which is due to me for lands which I sold to Philip Pendleton, who assigned the same to my brother, who by agreement was to pay me: And whereas two sons of my said brother Samuel, named Geo: S. Washington, and Lawrence A. Washington, came under my protection, and oc-

* See page 110.

casioned advances on my part for their education at college, &c. for board, cloathing, and other incidental expenses, to the amount of near 5000 dollars, which it may be inconvenient for them, or the estate to refund, for which reasons I do hereby acquit them and the estate from the payment thereof.

Item. The balance due me from the estate of Bartholomew Dandridge, deceased, (my wife's brother) amounting, in 1795, to £425, I release and acquit, and the 33 Negroes, formerly belonging to said estate, but who were sold on execution, and purchased on my account, and by me, suffered to remain in possession of Mary his widow, together with their increase, shall continue in her possession during her life, without any compesantion; but at her death, all who are aged 40 years, or upwards, shall receive their freedom, all under that age, and upwards of 16, shall serve seven years longer, and then be free, and all under 16 years, shall serve until they are 25 years, and then be free.

Item. Charles Carter, who married my neice Betty Lewis, shall receive from my executors, a sufficient title to the lots in Fredericksburgh, which he had of me.

Item. To my nephew, Wm. A. Washington, I bequeath lot No. 265, in the town of Manchester, my tenth of certain lots in the city and vicinity of Richmond, as also lot No. 139, in the town of Edinburgh, Virginia.

Item. To my nephew Bushrod Washington I give and bequeath all the papers in my possession, which relate to my civil and military administration of the affairs this country : I leave to him also, such of my private papers as are worth preserving ;and at the deceaseof my wife and before, if she is not inclined to retain them, I give and bequeath my library of books and pamphlets of every kind.

Item. Having sold certain lands which I possessed in Pennsylvania, and in New-York, my share in Great Dismal Swamp, and a tract in the county of Gloucester, withholding the titles until the consideration should be paid, *also* having leased and conditionally sold, all my lands on the Great Kanhawa, and a tract upon Difficult Run, whenever these tracts are fulfilled,the money shall be vested in bank stock, the interest whereof I give to my wife during her life, but the stock itself shall be subject to the destribution hereafter willed.

Item. To the Earl of Buchan I re-commit " the box made of the oak that sheltered the great Sir William Wallace, after the battle of Falkirk ;" presented to me by his lordship, in terms too flattering for me to repeat, with a request " to pass it, on the event of my decease, to the man in my country, who should appear to merit it best upon the same conditions that have induced him to send it to me." Whether easy or not to se-

lect the man who might comport with his lordship's opinion in this respect, is not for me to say; but conceiving that no disposition of this valuable curiosity can be more eligible than the re-commitment of it to his own cabinet, agreeably to the original design of the Goldsmith's company of Edinburgh, who presented it to him, and, at his request, consented that it should be transferred to me; I bequeath the same to his lordship; and, in case of his decease, to his heir, with my grateful thanks for the distinguished honour of presenting it to me, and more especially for the favourable sentiments with which he accompanied it.

Item. To my Brother, Charles Washington, I bequeath the gold headed cane left me by Dr. Franklin in his will. To the acquaintances and friends of my juvenile years, Laurence Washington, and Robert Washington of Chotanck, I give my other two golheaded canes, having my arms engraved on them, and to each (as they will be useful where they live) I leave one of the spy-glasses, which constituted part of my equipage during the late war. To my compatriot in arms and old and intimatefriend, Dr. Craik, I give my bureau (or as the cabinet makers call it, tambour secretary) and the circular chair, an appendage to my study. To Dr. David Stuart, I give my large shaving and dressing table, and my telescope. To the Rev. now Bryan Lord Fairfax, I give a bible in three large folio volumes, with notes presented to me by the Rt. Rev. Thomas Wilson, Bishop of Sa-

dor and Man. To General de la Fayette, I give a pair of finely wrought steel Pistols, taken from the enemy during the revolutionary war. To my sisters-in-law, Hannah Washington and Mildred Washington, to my friends Elenor Stuart, Hannah Washington, of Fairfield, and Elizabeth Washington, of Hayfield, I give, each a mourning ring, of the value of one hundred Dollars. These bequests are not made for the intrinsic value of them, but as mementos of my esteem and regard. To Tobias Lear, I give the use of the farm which he now holds free from rent during his life. To Sally B. Hanie (a distant relation of mine) I give and bequeath three hundred dollars. To Sarah Green, Daughter of the deceased Thomas Bishop, and to Ann Walker, daughter of John Alton, also deceased, I give each one hundred dollars, in consideration of the attachment of their fathers to me; each of whom having lived nearly forty years in my family. To each of my nephews, Wm. A. Washington, Geo: Lewis, Geo: S. Washington, Bushrod Washington, and Sam. Washington, I give one of the Swords or cutteaux of which I may die possessed: and they are to choose in the order they are named. These swords are accompanied with an injunction not to unsheath them for the purpose of shedding blood, except it be for self defence, or in defence of their country and its rights; and in the latter case, to keep them unsheathed, and prefer falling with them in their hands to the relinquishment thereof.

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Item. To my nephew Bushrod Washington, and his heirs, I bequeath all that part of Mount Vernon, included within the following limits, [*here the original will describes the boundaries*] containing upwards of 4000 acres, with the mansion house, and all other improvements: *Secondly*, To Geo: F. Washington, and Lawrence A. Washington, and their heirs, to be equally divided between them, I give my estate of Little Hunting Creek, lying on the Potomack containing 2027 acres, with the improvements thereon:— *Thirdly*, I bequeath to Laurence Lewis and his wife, and their heirs, all the residue of Mount Vernon, containing about 2000 acres, together with the mill, distillery, and other improvements. *Fourthly*, I bequeath to Geo. Washington Park Custis, the Grandson of my wife, my tract on four mile run, containing 1200 acres and my entire square, No. 21, in the city of Washington.

[The residue of his estate real and personal, the general requests to be sold by his executors to the best advantage, and the monies arising therefrom to be divided into twenty-three equal parts, which he bequeaths equally, to his own and to his wife's relations, specifying their names.]

The Family Vault at Mount Vernon, requiring repairs, and being improperly situated, I desire that a new one of brick, and upon a larger scale, may be built on the ground which is marked out; in which my remains, with those of my deceased relations (now in the old

vault) and such others of my family as may choose to be entomed there, may be deposited. And it is my express desire, that my corps may be interred in a private manner, without parade or funeral oration.

Lastly. I constitute and appoint my dearly beloved wife Martha Washington, my nephews Wm. Augustine Washington, Bushrod Washington, Geo: S. Washington, Samuel Washington, and Laurence Lewis, and my ward, Geo: Washington P. Custis, (when he shall have arrived at the age of 20 years) executrix and executors of this WILL and TESTAMENT.

[The original will is of the General's own hand writing; his name is subscribed to every page of it; he consulted no professional character in the construction of it, and he accompanies every item with remarks and explanations of the meaning and design of them; it is dated July 9th, 1799, and 24th year of the independence of the United States of America. Annexed to the will is the following schedule of the property directed to be sold with a moderate valuation of their worth.

IN VIRGINIA.

	Acres.	*Price.*	*Dolls.*
Loudoun co. Difficult Run,	300		6,666
Loudoun and Fauquier,			
Ashby's Bent,	2481	10d.	24,810
Chattin's Run,	885	8	7,980
Berkeley, S. fork of Bullskin	1600		
Head of Evans's m.	453		
In Wormley's line,	183		
	2236	20	44,720
Frederick, bought from Mercer,	571	20	11,420
Hampshire, on Potomac river, above B.	240	15	3,600
Gloucester, on N. river,	400	about	8,600
Nansemond near Suffolk 8d of 1119 acres,	373	8	2,984

	Acres.	Price.	Dollars.
Great Dismal Swamp, my dividend thereof,			abont 20,000
Ohio river, Round Bottom,	587		
Little Kanhawa,	2314		
	2901		
16 miles lower down,	2448		
Opposite Big Bent,	4395		
		dollars	
	9744	10	97,440
GREAT KANHAWA.			
Near the North West,	10,990		
East side above,	7276		
Mouth of Cole river,	2000		
Opposite thereto, 2950			
Burning Spring, 125	3075		
			200,000
MARYLAND.			
Charles County,	600	6	3,600
Montgomery do.	519	12	6,229
PENNSYLVANIA.			
Great Meadows,	234	6	1,404
NEW-YORK.			
Mohawk river,	about 1000	6	6,000
NORTH WEST TERRITORY.			
On Little Miami,	839		
Ditto,	977		
Ditto,	1235		
	3051	5	15,2[illegible]1

	Acres.	Price.	Dolls.
KENTUCKY.			
Rough Creek,	3000		
Ditto adjoining,	2000		
	5000	2	10,000

LOTS, viz.

City of Washington.

Two near the Capitol, Square 634, cost 693 dollars, and with buildings,	15,000
No. 5, 12, 13 and 14, the three last water lots on the Eastern Branch, in square 667, containing together 34,438 square feet, at 12 cents,	4,132

Alexandria.

Corner of Pitt and Prince-streets, half an acre laid out into buildings, three or four of which are let on ground rent at 3 dollars per foot,	4,000

Winchester.

A lot in the town of half an acre, and another in the Commons of about 6 acres, supposed	4,000

Bath, or Warm Springs.

Two well situated, and had buildings to the amount of 150l.	8,000

STOCK.

United States.

Six per Cents,		3746	
Ditto deferred,	1873	2500	
Three per Cents,	2946		
			6,246

Potomac Company.

Twenty-four Shares cost each 1000*l.* sterling, 10,666

James-River Company.

Five Shares each each cost 100 dollars, 500

Bank of Columbia.

One hundred and 70 Shares, 40 dollars each, 6,800

Bank of Alexandia.

Besides 20 Shares to the Free School—Five 1,000

STOCK LIVING, viz.

One covering Horse, five carriage Horses, four riding ditto, six brood Mares, twenty working Horses and Mares, two covering Jacks, and three young ones, ten she Asses, 42 working Mules, 15 younger ones, 829 head of horned Cattle, 640 head of Sheep, and a large stock of Hogs, the precise number unknown.—☞My Manager has estimated this Live Stock at 7000*l.* but I shall set it down in order to make a round sum at 15,653

Aggregate Amount, 580,000

B D.U.T 20 1918